REFORMATION BIBLES IN THE CROSSFIRE

KENNETH A. STRAND

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PLATE I. Title-page of E-1527
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REFORMATION BIBLES IN THE CROSSFIRE

The Story of Jerome Emser, His Anti-Lutheran Critique and His Catholic Bible Version

With Facsimile Plates

by Kenneth A. Strand

Ann Arbor Publishers
711 N. University Avenue
Ann Arbor, Michigan

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PREFACE

NO detailed theological discussion is presented here. Rather our topic is treated from the standpoint of a brief historical survey. As observers and students of history, we cannot, of course, ignore theological elements which cropped up in the religious crossfire under consideration, but it is not our purpose to enter the arena as contestants, judges, or even arbiters (see also our opening remarks in Chapter III). Furthermore, within the limits of the present work it is not possible to treat in detail the various source materials mentioned. Quotations take the form of samplings—fair samplings, we trust—of the materials from which they have been excerpted. And they have been chosen, not to reveal theological truth or error, but to illustrate content of the particular works and to illuminate the historical situation involving the religious crossfire.

We have endeavored in our presentation to reduce footnotes to a minimum. Where feasible we have grouped references to general source materials in a few notes rather than provided a multitude of specific citations scattered about in numerous notes. Also, we have frequently omitted notes of citation in cases where the main text provides sufficient information for the ready location of the specific items.

A word in regard to the translations: These are the writer's own, and have generally been kept as literal as English idiom and style would allow. An exception occurs in connection with certain poetic passages, where, in order to maintain poetic effect, we have leaned more in the direction of paraphrase. Paraphrase also occurs frequently in places where material is summarized. In such cases, the paraphrased material is not enclosed within quotation marks. Moreover, where a source quotes a Bible text or other statement, the text or statement will be given *as in that source* rather than as in the original from which the material was in the first place taken. This is, of course, the logical procedure to follow, but awareness of its application will help toward an appreciation of what might otherwise seem rather unusual wording at times.

The writer also wishes to express gratitude for the help of those who have made possible the appearance of the present

publication. Especially does he wish to thank Professors Albert Hyma and George G. Cameron of the University of Michigan for their valuable suggestions. Indeed, Professor Hyma has read the manuscript in its entirety, and for this and for his kind help and encouragement the writer is most appreciative. The writer is also grateful to the staffs of the various institutions whose rare source materials have been made available for his use—especially to the staffs of the British Museum, the British and Foreign Bible Society, the University of Chicago Library, the University of Michigan Library, the New York Public Library, the Newberry Library of Chicago, and the State Library of Württemberg in Stuttgart, Germany. Many of the materials utilized for the present study were secured in microfilm, and for the major portion of such the writer is indebted to the excellent service rendered by University Microfilms of Ann Arbor, Michigan.

To all who have had part in making the present publication possible, the writer says thanks. They have done much to give it any value it may have. For any errors and shortcomings which remain, the writer takes sole responsibility.

Kenneth A. Strand

Berrien Springs, Michigan
August, 1960

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ABBREVIATIONS: PERIODICALS, SOURCE COLLECTIONS, AND OTHER GENERAL WORKS

AGBW:	*Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens.*
ARG:	*Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte.*
BBSAW:	*Besondere Beilage des Staats-Anzeigers für Württemberg.*
BFBSC:	Darlow, T. H., and H. F. Moule, comps., *Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture in the Library of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* London: The Bible House, 1911.
HZ:	*Historische Zeitschrift.*
LTK:	*Lexikon für Theologie und Kirche.*
NB:	Borchling, Conrad, and Bruno Claussen, comps., *Niederdeutsche Bibliographie.* Neumünster: Karl Wachholtz, 1931-36.
RPTK:	*Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche.*
RSSCW:	*Research Studies of the State College of Washington.*
Schaff-Herzog:	*The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge.*
SVRG:	*Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte.*
TSMA:	*Texte des späten Mittelalters.*
Tw.C. Encycl.:	*Twentieth-Century Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* (1955 extension of *Schaff-Herzog*).
W.A.:	*D. Martin Luthers Werke.* Weimar: 1883-
W.A.Br.:	*W.A.: Briefwechsel.*
WZUR:	*Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock.*

ABBREVIATIONS: BIBLES REFERRED TO IN PLATES AND APPENDIX

E-1527: *Das naw testament.* Emser's first edition. Dresden: W. Stöckel, 1527.

E-1528: *Das New Testamēt.* Emser's version. Leipzig: V. Schuman, 1528.

E-1529A: *Das New Testament.* Emser's version. Augsburg: A. Weissenhorn, 1529.

E-1529C: *Das gantz New Testament.* Emser's version. Cologne: H. Fuchs, 1529.

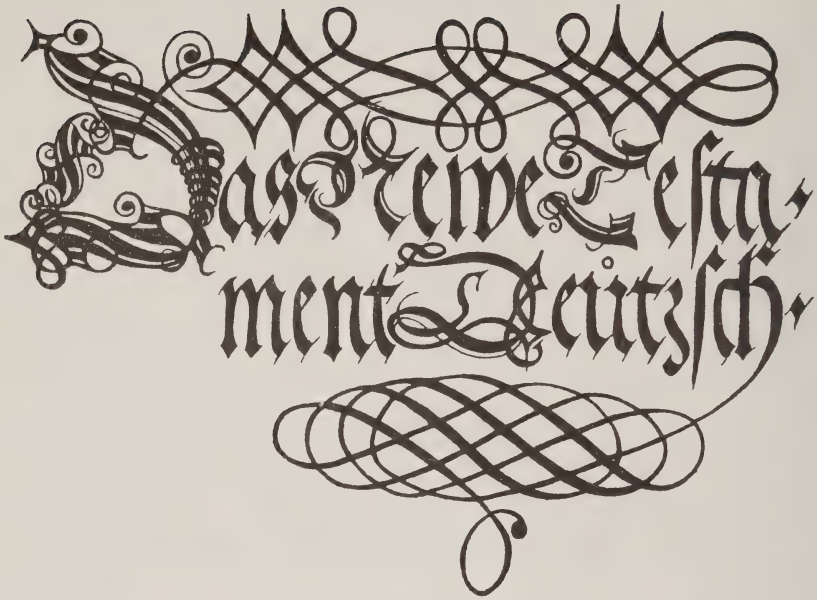
E-1529F: *Das New Testament.* Emser's version. Freiburg i.B.: J. Faber, 1529.

E-1529L: *Das New Testamēt.* Emser's version. Leipzig: V. Schuman, 1529.

Luth-1522: *Das Newe Testament Deützsch.* Luther's "September Bible." Wittenberg: M. Lotther, 1522.

R: *Dat nye Testamēt.* Rostock: Brethren of the Common Life, 1530.

REFORMATION BIBLES IN THE CROSSFIRE



Vuittemberg.

PLATE II. Title-page of Luth-1522

INTRODUCTION

IT was the evening of May 4, 1521. Martin Luther and his party were on their homeward journey from the famous Diet of Worms. Suddenly a band of four or five armed horsemen intercepted them and spirited away Martin to the Wartburg Castle on a ridge overlooking Eisenach. This castle—his "Patmos" or "realm of the birds," as the Reformer used to designate it—was to be his home until March of the following year. What effect did such seclusion have upon him and upon the course of the Reformation he had launched?

To many friends of the Reform program Luther's disappearance must indeed have seemed a keen loss. Also for many a man, such an experience would undoubtedly have become the occasion for an utter sinking into oblivion. But not so for Luther! For him it became a mighty victory and triumph, as he undertook activities which were in a remarkable way to promote the progress of the Reformation. Indeed, those months of solitude and of separation from friends and from the front ranks of the battle were diligently and successfully put to use in producing a literature which once again emphasized the truth expressed in the maxim, "The pen is mightier than the sword."

Undoubtedly the most significant, famous and influential of the literary productions of Luther at the Wartburg Castle was his renowned German New Testament. His intention to undertake such a project was indicated in a letter of December 18, 1521, to John Lang, wherein he declared himself to be "on the point of translating the New Testament into the vernacular."[1]

The work of Bible translation was not entirely new to Luther in 1521 and 1522, for as early as 1517 to 1519 he had already translated various portions of Scripture, particularly some of the Psalms, into German. But now he was to deal more directly with the original Greek of the New Testament, and to carry forward an extensive enterprise. Yet he did it with dispatch, for by September of 1522 an edition published at Wittenberg was already in circulation—the famed "September Bible." Another Wittenberg edition was being distributed by December of the same year—the so-called "December Bible"—,

1. *W.A.Br.*, II, 413: #445.

and still other editions appeared in 1522 at Strassburg and Basel. Many other editions followed in rapid succession at Wittenberg and elsewhere. In fact, Luther's version received such wide reception that it tended to eclipse the work of translating undertaken by various contemporaries, and it apparently hurt quite seriously the sales for the fourth pre-Lutheran Low-German Bible printed earlier in 1522 at Halberstadt.[2]

High-German editions of Luther's New Testament quickly multiplied; and by 1530 there were, as well, no less than 10 to 15 editions in Low Rhenish and Low Saxon from presses at such places as Hamburg, Wittenberg, Cologne, Magdeburg, and Erfurt. Such rapid spread of the Lutheran version throughout the various corners of the German lands posed a real problem for the Catholic party. What could be done to stifle or counteract the influence of this popular Lutheran work?

The Catholic party found a champion in Jerome Emser of Dresden, who first of all issued a critique of Luther's New Testament and then produced a rival New Testament. To tell briefly the tale of this critique and of this rival Bible version is the purpose of the present book.

A chapter is first devoted to the career of the Catholic champion himself, Jerome Emser. Next we turn our attention to his criticism of Luther's work. Then we give brief treatment to the first and later editions of his New Testament, concluding our discussion of such editions with the Rostock Low-German Testament completed about 1532.

Plates accompanying the text furnish in facsimile reproduction sample pages from various works mentioned, and an Appendix provides some textual comparisons of the Lutheran and Emserian translations. The transcriptions in the Appendix

2. For information on Luther's Bible translation, see esp. Johann M. Reu, *Luther's German Bible: An Historical Presentation Together with a Collection of Sources* (Columbus, Ohio: The Lutheran Book Concern, 1934). For recent information on the Halberstadt Bible, see esp. Walter Baumann, "Geschichte des alten Halberstädter Buchdrucks," in *AGBW*, I (1956), 246, 247; and Siegfried Joost, "Notizen zum frühen niederdeutschen Bibeldruck: Ein Beitrag zur Halberstädter Bibel," in *AGBW*, I, 226-244.

and elsewhere, it should be pointed out, follow the originals as to spelling and punctuation; but the modern umlaut indicator is used in place of the small "e" or other markings of this type to be found over "a", "o", and "u" in the source materials.

PLATE III. Title-pages of Two Emserian Polemical Works
(University of Michigan Library Copies)

CHAPTER I

THE CAREER OF JEROME EMSER

AMONG Catholic leaders and polemicists who championed the Catholic cause against Martin Luther, the names of John Tetzel and John Eck have achieved enduring fame. A name undoubtedly less well-known, but hardly less important, is that of Jerome Emser. This man was one of the foremost opponents of Martin Luther during the early years of the Protestant Reformation. In fact, it may not be far amiss to classify him as Luther's most significant Catholic foe during the third decade of the sixteenth century. Not only did Emser quickly produce a critique of Luther's vernacular New Testament and even a rival version of his own—items we have mentioned in our Introduction—, but he also entered into a most vitriolic literary dispute with the Reformer, and, in addition, translated and published polemical works by King Henry VIII of England and Desiderius Erasmus. In the present chapter it will be our purpose to trace the career of Jerome Emser and to take brief notice of his literary feud with Luther.[1]

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1. Much of the significant literature on Jerome Emser was produced years ago, several of the important works dating, in fact, to the 18th century (*e.g.*, those of J. I. Müller in 1720, and G. E. Waldau in 1783). Among the most recent of the authoritative and comprehensive accounts of Emser's life is that of Gustav Kawerau, "Hieronymus Emser," in *SVRG*, No. 61 (Halle, 1898), to which the present writer is heavily indebted for information in the present chapter. Robert T. Clark, Jr., "Hieronymus Emser, Eyn deutsche Satyra," *TSMA*, No. 3 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1956), pp. 7-11, furnishes a brief biographical sketch of Emser; and Robert H. Fife, *The Revolt of Martin Luther* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), pp. 403-409 and 600-610, presents short synopses or summaries of several of the polemical works we shall mention in the present chapter. For the complete text of certain polemical works, see Ludwig Enders, *Luther und Emser: Ihre Streitschriften aus dem Jahre 1521*, 2 Parts (Halle a. S.: Max Niemeyer, 1890, 1892); and *W.A.* Also useful is *W.A.Br.* for publication of correspondence which throws light on Lutheran-Emserian relationships. For a wider background of information concerning Duke George, in whose employ Emser spent nearly half of his life, see Otto Vossler, "Herzog Georg der Bärtige und seine Ablehnung Luthers" in *HZ*, Vol. 184 (1957), pp. 272-291.

Jerome Emser was born on either March 16 or 26,[2] 1477 or 1478,[3] the son of Wilhelm Emser, a Swabian serving as commander of soldiers for the imperial city of Ulm. His mother was the former Margarethe Renz of that city. The young Emser, as he grew up, manifested great pride in his noble birth, and in a number of his writings showed the family coat of arms with the byline "Arma Hieronymi Emser." Since an ibex was depicted (see Plates III and IV for illustrations), it was undoubtedly this practice that led to Luther's use of the terms "Steinbock" and "Bock" in some of his polemical writings against Emser.

On July 19, 1493, the young Jerome matriculated at Tübingen, where John Reuchlin's brother Dionysius taught Greek, and where the famed humanist Heinrich Bebel arrived in 1496, shortly before Emser's departure. Emser left Tübingen before closing his studies for the Baccalaureate, and in the winter semester of 1497 we find him at Basel. There he took his Baccalaureate examination, and went on to earn a Master's degree in 1499.

Adverse relationships soon brought Emser's stay at Basel to an end, but gave him instead the opportunity of becoming private secretary and chaplain for Cardinal Raymond Perault. The Cardinal had been appointed in October, 1500, as papal legate to Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and Prussia in behalf of the jubilee indulgence for the war against the Turks. After some difficulties were settled with respect to the promotion of this indulgence, Perault early in the year 1502 began his travels, going first into southwest Germany and into the diocese of Constance, where Emser most likely joined him.

The meeting of the two and Emser's subsequent service in the employ of this church official was most important for the young Swabian, for it gave him exceptional opportunities for travel and for meeting distinguished political and religious

---

2. There is confusion as to the day of the month from Emser's own writings. Other dates suggested by secondary authorities include March 20 (*Encycl. Brit.*, 11th ed., IX, 362; & 1956 ed., VIII, 416) and March 28 (*Encycl. Amer.*, 1957 ed., X, 310; & *Tw. C. Encycl.*, I, 380). *Schaff-Herzog*, IV, 124, presents the birthdate information this way: "Mar. 16 (26?), 1478 (1477?)." See also Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

3. Cf. the citation from *Schaff-Herzog*, in ft. 2, above; and see also Kawerau, *loc. cit.* Emser was in his 50th year when he died in 1527 (cf. Plate XII), but this information leaves us with two possibilities for reckoning back to the year of his birth.

leaders in many parts of the German lands. Though the privilege of accompanying the papal legate lasted for only two years or so, Emser was able to travel with the Cardinal quickly through the dioceses of Augsburg, Speier, Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, then southward again, and finally to the northeast through the Albertine and Ernestine Saxonies and to the Baltic region. By April of 1503 the party had, in fact, already reached Lübeck, and on the way back to Mainz passed through the north-German cities of Hamburg and Bremen.

Later in 1503 we find the Cardinal and Emser at Cologne, and at the end of October of that year they attended an assembly in Frankfort on the Main. Here it was, apparently, that Perault laid down his legation; and it was probably here also, or at Strassburg the following January, that Emser was released from the Cardinal's service.

Concerning his travels with Perault, Emser later, in his *Against the Unchristian Book of the Augustianian Martin Luther Issued to the German Nobility* (Leipzig, 1521), made comment as follows: "With Cardinal Raymundo of blessed memory I travelled extensively through the German lands, visiting five archbishoprics and twenty bishoprics and giving diligent attention to the ancient foundations and other monuments. . . ."[4]

Emser became quite a literary figure of his time. The beginning of this phase of his career appears to stem from this very time when he was in the service of Cardinal Raymond Perault. Some of his earliest activity along this line was that of preparing editions of the works of others, among them an edition of the *Opera* of Pico della Mirandola, for which he had completed a register, written a foreword, and prepared a poem praising Pico. Of course, Emser wrote works of his own too. And by the time his great literary feud with Luther opened about 1520, he had to his credit a number of works to which his name was attached as either author or editor. To one composition of his own in particular, his biography of Bishop Benno of Meissen, we will turn our attention shortly.

After being released from service with Cardinal Perault, Emser turned his steps toward Erfurt, where he lectured in the University during the summer semester of 1504. More of a humanist than a scholastic, he dealt in humanistic fashion with John Reuchlin's comedy *Sergius*. It is interesting to note that among his students was Martin Luther. At least, so he claimed

4. See Enders, *op. cit.*, I, 129.

later in his *Quadruplica on Luther's Newest Answer Concerning His Reformation* (Leipzig, 1521): "I will counsel Luther that he go to school still awhile under Emser . . . sixteen years ago he was my student and at Erfurt first heard from me John Reuchlin's comedy *Sergius*. From it he learned masterfully the same monk's roguishness."[5]

From Erfurt Emser went to the University of Leipzig, where he received the degree of Bachelor in the theological faculty on January 5, 1505. But just as it seemed that he was making preparation for being a theology professor, his steps turned into quite another pathway. He entered the service of Duke George of Albertine Saxony as secretary for that prince.

It so happens that Duke George had an overwhelming desire to secure canonization for Bishop Benno of Meissen, an ecclesiastic of some historical fame to that city. This desire on the part of the Saxonian duke led him as early as 1501 to request of Pope Alexander VI that Perault be allowed to promote the matter of Benno's canonization. It was while in Perault's service that Emser most likely received his first knowledge of the affair. But now, in 1505, as he was serving Duke George, he set his pen to work in poetic style on behalf of the hoped-for canonization of Benno. The Latin verse he produced praised Benno for loyalty to Pope Gregory VII. It even went so far as to declare that Benno had appeared to Emser himself while the latter was asleep, revealing that Pope Julius II (who had acceded to the papal chair in 1503) would be the one to give the deceased bishop a place in the calendar of saints.

This pope died, however, without ever canonizing Benno. Over this Emser must have felt some embarrassment, and in his later literary compositions he conveniently ignored the blunder he had made in this earlier year.

Emser was not alone, though, in working to further Duke George's design for the canonization of Benno. The pen of one John Trittheim was also active. This man, in fact, composed a biography of Benno, which he sent to the pope during June of 1506.

Early failures in obtaining the desired canonization gave Emser opportunity for some more travel. He was sent on a trip to Rome, taken probably in the winter of 1506-7,[6] there to

5. See Enders, *op. cit.*, II, 179.

6. So Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Contrast Enders, *op. cit.*, I, p. IV, where the year 1510 is given.

do what he could to hasten the matter of Benno's canonization. The mission was not successful, but Emser did receive benefit in that he had opportunity of seeing the sights and antiquities of Rome. In his later literary feud with Luther he had occasion to refer to the city on the Tiber, as we shall note presently.

Now another mission was in store. Since material on the life of Benno had been considered insufficient, Emser and Deacon John Hennig of Meissen were sent out to locate needed information. Their trip carried them to Goslar and Hildesheim. It was at the latter place that they struck great fortune: Here they met a certain Benedictine monk, Henning Rose, whose marvelous ingenuity was able to furnish just the information they needed! The remarkable source material he was able to produce was apparently accepted as reliable, and went gullibly into what seems to have been the first detailed life of Benno ever written--Emser's *Life and Miracles of Blessed Benno, Formerly Bishop of Meissen,* published in 1512 by Melchior Lotther at Leipzig. Gustav Kawerau has defended Emser's personal integrity in the unfortunate affair, feeling that this would-be biographer of the Meissen bishop did not intentionally falsify, but was rather gullible and uncritical.[7]

In any event, the publication was a remarkable work. Certainly now with the appearance of such a biography the revered bishop would secure his much-deserved place in the calendar of saints. But no! Duke George and his friends had to wait over a decade longer for the desired canonization. This did not take place until May 31, 1523, under Pope Adrian VI.

Emser, after his publication of Benno's biography in 1512, still remained in Duke George's service, but received what might be considered advancement in status. He now had his own dwelling in Dresden, and became more of a personal adviser and special commissioner of the Duke. During the years of this service he continued his literary interests. Among his publications were an edition of Erasmus' *Manual of a Christian Knight* (published in 1515) and translations from Plutarch (1519) and Xenophon (1525). One work which he composed for Prince John, son of Duke George, went through many editions, apparently as a school textbook.

Today Emser, in so far as he is remembered at all, is probably best known for his struggle with Luther. But when

7. Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

that struggle first arose, some four-fifths of Emser's illustrious life was already in the past. While the activities of his last eight or ten years were undoubtedly the most significant as far as the course of religious history is concerned, those earlier years certainly had their glow and ardor as well. They made their own timely contributions to the history of civilization. And especially interesting is the fact that Emser took active part in translating certain works into the vernacular, a course not generally characteristic of the humanists.

Not only did Emser become involved in his bitter literary feud with Luther, however, but he also became entangled in argumentation with other Reformers as well. Before we turn our attention more directly to the Lutheran-Emserian relationships, it will be fitting for us here to take brief notice of some of these other entanglements.

One of the first of such polemical engagements was that with Carlstadt. When the radical reformer was promoting his "reforms" in Wittenberg, during Luther's seclusion at the Wartburg Castle, Emser became concerned about the iconoclasm advocated. And on April 2, 1522, he issued his *That the Holy Images Should Not Be Destroyed in the Churches Nor Disrespected, and That They Are Not Forbidden in the Scriptures.*

Two years later a bitter correspondence with Zwingli occurred. Zwingli had issued, in the year 1523, a work entitled *Experiment Over the Canon of the Mass.* This was in connection with his reforms in cultus at Zurich. To this publication Emser replied in April of the next year with his *Defense of the Canon of the Mass Against Ulrich Zwingli.* In it he made a play upon the words of I Samuel 17:37, referring to Luther and Carlstadt as the "lion" and "bear" and to Zwingli as "this Philistine." He produced excerpts from Zwingli's publication, attempting systematic refutation of these excerpts.

Zwingli in turn produced a biting reply, *Defense Against Jerome Emser.* In a sarcastic foreword the Swiss Reformer took care to indicate his desire that Emser's sins in Basel and early immoral life would not be brought to mind! Zwingli apparently delighted to chide Emser about his early wanderings and to interpret these in the most unfavorable light. Zwingli was due now, however, for another reply, Emser's *Defense Against Zwingli's Defense.* And with this the heated exchange subsided.

Other writings of polemical nature were produced by Emser for the benefit of the provosts George Bessler and Hektor Pömer of Nuremberg and for Nicolaus Hausmann of Zwickau. *Against the Two Nuremberg Provosts' False Ground and Cause* came as a reply to their apology *Ground and Cause Out of the Holy Scripture,* which they had produced in October, 1524, as a literary defense of reforms in cultus.

To Nicolaus Hausmann he addressed his *Missae Christianorum* of February 29, 1524, as a defense of the Mass against Lutheran innovations being adopted by Hausmann. And in another letter, dated March 12, 1525, and entitled *A Missive or Letter of Jerome Emser to Nicolaus Hausmann,* he gave added warning.

One further bit of argumentation deserves consideration here: that with Euricius Cordus, the humanistic epigrammatist of Braunschweig. Cordus opened fire in 1525 with his *Antilutheromastix,* a masterful poem covering with real sting the whole array of Luther's outstanding opponents. Emser himself was soundly taken to task, and the celebration of Benno's canonization was ridiculed.[8]

Cordus' great *Poem of Warning* to Emperor Charles and the German princes took a passing thrust also at both Emser and Benno. In it enough was said to indicate the author's feeling that Emser was connected with "Satan's kingdom."

Emser could not but reply to this abuse, and produced his *Justification for Catholics Against the "Luther-Opponent-Scourge" Calumnies of Physician Euricius Cordus.* In this work he contrasts Luther and Christ with respect to such things as morality and warfare, and lauds those who have written against the Wittenberg Reformer.

The lifework of this champion of the old church was now quickly drawing to an end. His last significant work, a New Testament about which we shall have more to say later, was printed at Dresden in 1527, shortly before his death. Had he

8. On June 16, 1524, the day dedicated by Pope Adrian VI to Benno in the calendar, a festive celebration took place at Meissen. As part of the ceremony, Benno's bones were removed from the grave. Of this Cordus had this to say:

"As they newly opened the grave of the holy Benno
In the venerable cathedral, they found only—children's bones.
Do you laugh? Christ, as we know, grants no one access to Heaven,
Who has not beforehand fully become a child!"

lived on, he would undoubtedly have been drawn into further literary struggles over this very publication. As it was, the fatal day came to him at Dresden on November 8, 1527.

For quite some time he had apparently suffered from severe attacks of gout. His opponents naturally attributed his physical malady to what they claimed was an earlier dissolute and indulgent life. They took as evidence the fact that he had written a dialogue on drinking and a work on *Preparation and Preservation of Wine, Beer, and Vinegar.* But regardless of the initial cause or causes of his premature death, Emser had been active almost to the very last. As he passed to his death, his name became a byword among enemies, but he received high praise from his many friends. For the Catholic party he was one of the champions of their faith. And the esteem in which he was held is expressed by the Bible texts chosen for his grave marker: "I have hated the unrighteous and loved Thy law; I have hated the congregation of the malignant and will not sit with the impious."[9]

Now we must turn our attention to the breach which took place between Luther and Emser. The former, as we have already noted, was even a student under the latter at the University of Erfurt. And it seems certain that in the years when Luther was a loyal member within the Roman communion a definite spirit of friendship must have existed between the two men. Even in the early part of the year 1519—the year in which the real break occurred—we find no strong cleavage, though it is not at all certain that Luther in writing to John Lang on April 13, 1519, actually spoke of Emser as "our Emser."[10]

An unfortunate experience of the year before had already led to some misgivings and to some friction between the two men: When Luther, among others, had spent a social evening at Emser's home in Dresden on July 25, 1518, the conversation

9. From the Vulgate of Psalms 118:113 and 25:5 (Psalms 119:113 and 26:5). The wording given in connection with the "Epitaphium Emseri" as printed in Emser's New Testament, 1528 ed., reads as follows: "Iniquos odio habui Legē aūt tuā dilexi Odī ecclā malignāciū Et cū impijs nō sedebo." See Plate XII.

10. The passage in question reads, in *W.A.Br.*, I, 370, "Scis, quod Emser noster, etiam dum recta format, errat." The suggestion is made in *ibid.*, pp. 371, 372, n. 31. that "empsser noster" has derived from "impssor noster." Enders, *op. cit.*, I, p. IV, also refers to the item, speaking of it as a misreading on the part of the first editor.

had turned to some disputed points, including the indulgence controversy. Luther was somewhat embarrassed at the occurrence, especially when he discovered that a Dominican preacher had stood outside listening. Accordingly, the Reformer was prone to look back upon this incident as having been purposely planned to hurt him.

The real break between Luther and Emser occurred, however, as a result of certain developments at the Leipzig Debate of June 27 to July 16, 1519. But Emser even here seemed to manifest a good deal of sobriety, carefulness, and decency. One almost gets the impression that there may have been hesitancy and reserve in his approach to the divisive step. Unfortunately, any moderation that was at first shown disappeared all too quickly. And Luther himself was certainly sufficiently to blame for this development, as we shall soon see.

The specific point which was the ostensible cause for the breach between the two men was Luther's statement at the Debate to the effect that John Huss's beliefs were not all heretical. Emser later admitted anger upon hearing Luther make this remark; for who would not be enraged, he said, when Luther had so shamelessly declared openly that some of the articles of John Huss—even such as had been condemned by the Council of Constance—were good evangelical and entirely Christian teaching!

After the Leipzig Disputation, Emser wrote a letter to John Zack, administrator of the Prague archbishopric. This letter, dated August 13, 1519, and published by Melchior Lotther at Leipzig, attacked Luther's praise of the Hussites, but still apparently attempted to be non-partisan. However, the accusations thrown Luther's way and the praise given Eck seemed more than the Reformer could take, and in September of the same year he issued his *Luther's Supplement to the Emserian Goat.* Here he made a play on part of the symbolism Emser so proudly depicted in his works, a practice the Wittenberg Reformer continued by repeatedly using the designations "Steinbock" or simply "Bock" for this court official of Duke George. In the *Supplement to the Emserian Goat,* Luther took it upon himself to chide the learned Emser for making a grammatical error right in the very title of his letter (in a subjoined poem "Aegoceron" had appeared instead of "Aegoceros"—possibly a misprint). Indeed, he, Luther, would chase the "Goat" and tear his letter to pieces! He also spoke of Emser as a treacherous "Joab" and "Judas."

This tactless publication set the forces of literary warfare into real action. Eck hastened to Emser's aid by publishing on October 28, 1519, his *Answer for Jerome Emser Against Luther's Crazy Chase.* And Emser for his own part replied to Luther with his *Emancipation From Luther's Chase of the Goat.* This latter publication can probably be considered the beginning of Emser's open opposition to Luther. A style he employs is that of dialogue, in which, of course, he himself is victor.

The literary feud got into real earnest the following year. To Luther's polemic *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation* Emser felt obliged to draft an answer, which did not actually appear, however, until January of 1521.

In the meantime, another anti-Lutheran reply, the work of Thomas Rhadinus, was published in Rome in August, 1520. This was reprinted at Leipzig in October and was in Wittenberg circles credited to--or rather, charged against—Emser. Luther himself replied to the supposed author with a New Year's greeting entitled *To the Goat of Leipzig.*

Two further irritating experiences came Emser's way about this same time. One was Luther's bonfire of December 10, 1520, wherein not only a copy of the canon law and the papal bull but also some of Emser's own writings were consigned to the flames. The other was the polemical letter of some twenty students at Leipzig charging Emser with being the "greatest disgrace of Swabia," a "gossipy and lying sophist," a "faithless and fugitive man," and the like.

With regard to this latter insult, Duke George himself took steps to defend his faithful employee. As early as January 9, 1521, he ordered the guilty party to be searched out. As a result, Valentine Schuman of Leipzig, who had printed some 1500 copies of the letter, was taken into custody, and probably only because of the good graces of Emser was allowed to make expiation by promising to print a like number of copies of a reply that the latter would prepare.

Emser also issued answers to Luther's *To the Goat of Leipzig* and *Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation.* These replies were, respectively, the works entitled *To the Bull at Wittenberg* and *Against the Unchristian Book of the Augustinian Martin Luther Issued to the German Nobility.* A further volley of fire occurred as Luther replied to the former work with his *Answer to the Goat at Leipzig,* for which Emser returned his *Concerning the Wrathful Reply of the Bull at*

Wittenberg. But still the battle was not over. In the next exchange between the two antagonists, we find Luther issuing a work entitled *Answer to the Overly Christian, Overly Spiritual and Overly Skillful Book of Goat Emser of Leipzig* and Emser producing his *Quadruplica on Luther's Newest Answer Concerning His Reformation.* Then later in the year still another volley of literary fire took place when Luther presented his *Doctor Luther's Recantation of His Errors, Compelled by the Most Highly Learned Priest of God, Master Jerome Emser.* This was an ironic recantation on the subject of the priesthood of believers, followed by an expression of the Reformer's own real convictions on the matter. Emser replied immediately with his *Stipulation to Luther's First Recantation.*

The battle had already taken on its coarse side. Not only were derisive names used in the very titles of some of the publications, but vulgar name-calling was fondly incorporated within the text of the literature produced by the two antagonists. And the fiery Luther is not alone to be blamed, for his opponent was also sufficiently guilty of bad language and sarcasm. Emser depicted Luther as the heretic, the blasphemer, the archliar, and the powerless and soulless monk, and referred to the Reformer's followers as half-learned "Grecken und Gecken" at the beer table.

At the end of 1521 the fiery controversy came to a temporary halt, with Emser having had the last word. It was not long in taking up again, however. For one thing, King Henry VIII's *The Defense of the Seven Sacraments Against Martin Luther* was translated into German by Emser. The Reformer felt compelled to answer, but in his reply did not name the translator. Perhaps more significant in the personal feuding was Luther's *Against the Falsely Named Spiritual Profession of the Popes and the Bishops,* to which Emser replied with *Emser's True and New Admonition Against the Falsely Named Ecclesiastic and Genuine Archheretic Martin Luther.* And now we once again find Luther holding his peace.

Emser renewed provocation early in 1524 by issuing his letter to Nicolaus Hausmann, which letter we have already mentioned. But when the Zwickau vicar asked Luther if the latter were not going to answer Emser's charges contained in that letter, Luther merely replied, "Emser is not to be answered. . . for he is the one of whom Paul says, 'Such a one is subverted, condemning himself; shun him,' for he commits the sin unto

death."[11] Luther went on to indicate that he would pray God to repay Emser according to his works. For, said the Reformer, it is better that he die, than that he so continue to blaspheme against his knowledge of Christ.

Emser, however, apparently got word of Luther's foregoing reply to Hausmann, or at least he learned something about the Reformer's prayer, for in a later polemical writing he stated that "Luther prays Heaven to let Emser die."[12]

A further topic of controversy was the canonization of Bishop Benno of Meissen, which canonization was finally achieved on May 31, 1523. On June 16 of the following year a great celebration occurred in Meissen. Duke George and other Catholic officials did their utmost beforehand to promote the celebration, for it was to be used as a thrust against the Reformation forces. Numerous announcements were circulated.

A high point of the celebration was to be the unearthing of Benno's bones. In response to this plan, Luther penned his warning message, *Against the New Idol and Old Devil, Who Shall Be Elevated at Meissen.* While the Reformer did not mention Emser personally, he did attack Pope Adrian VI for canonizing Benno. He also made sport of the "stout, strong lies" depicting Benno's miracles.

Emser naturally replied to Luther's attack. His treatise, *Answer to the Blasphemous Book Against Bishop Benno of Meissen,* accused Luther of bringing together his little book from writings of old heretics, the Reformer's own part being only the "infamies and slanders." Moreover, what of Luther's gospel itself? Its fruits revealed themselves to be but "quarrels, hatred, robbery, stealing, revelry, gluttony, adultery and murder." Really, it was Luther himself, not Benno, who was the "new idol and old devil." The Reformer was now raising up a new Rome at Wittenberg: He was excusing "all forsworn, runaway monks and nuns, adulterers and adultresses, thieves and rogues" and making it possible for them to "accomplish so much the better their whoredom and knavery." And thus, continued Emser, "he has carried the Tiber into the Elbe and transferred to Wittenberg the free life in Rome, against which he has long

11. *W.A.Br.*, III, 279. The letter, No. 734, is dated April 26, 1524.

12. See Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 45. The source is *Euricii Cordi Calumnias* (1526), Leaf 103.

fought." It is interesting to note that Emser here shows himself to have been well aware of evil conditions in Rome.[13]

Somewhat later, in July of 1524, Emser came forward again as a champion of the old church by writing a treatise in honor of the Conventicle held at Regensburg on July 6 and 7 of that year. About the same time he prepared an edition of Ambrosius Catherinus' *Dialogue on the Correct Meaning of Matthew 16:18,19*. And the following year he gave Luther a scathing rebuke in his *Answer to Luther's Abomination Against the Holy Mass*, a reply to a work by the Wittenberg Reformer on the Mass. He threw the blame for the disorders of the Peasants' War directly upon Luther, and in speaking of the destruction wrought in the holocaust declared that "all these dead bodies, if they could now again rise, would undoubtedly lay all the blame on Luther and cry to heaven for revenge." One part of the work dealt with citations from Luther which were to prove this man to be a revolutionist. But Emser's reckless manner of wresting statements from their context laid him open to the charge of dishonesty.[14]

The Peasants' Uprising was indeed a serious setback for the Reformation party. It was likewise an event which brought hope to Catholic hearts that the Reformation might be uprooted. Duke George himself seems to have taken courage in the thought that now the German nobility would possibly have their eyes opened and would take concerted action against the Lutherans. Emser undoubtedly shared in these convictions and desires, and issued in 1525 a pamphlet with poetic title, which in loose paraphrase might be rendered somewhat like this:

The Goat steps freely on the plot,
Against honor he's never fought
Though of rebuke he's had a lot.
But as to Luther's kind, a thought:
And the type of play that he has wrought
And the fickleness with which he's fraught,

13. Other references to the "eternal city" may be found in *Wid'das vnchristenliche buch martini Luters Augustiners an den Tewtschen Adel aussgangen* and *Hieronymi Emsers Quadruplica auff Luters Jungst gethane antwurt sein reformation belangend*, as published in Enders, *op. cit.*, I, 65, and II, 176-179, resp.

14. See Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 49, 50.

So like the wind in its changing lot---
Such things to you in this book are brought.[15]

Among sections published by Kawerau, we find this interesting couplet indicating Emser's feeling with respect to the so-called revolutionary tendencies of Luther's writings (again we present a loose poetic paraphrase):

Had Luther never penned a book,
Germany'd have remained a peaceful nook.[16]

Other works by Emser in his struggle against Luther included the publication of some of Erasmus' polemical works against the Reformer, and particularly his own critique of Luther's Bible translation and his own rival New Testament. To the Emserian critique we must now turn our attention.

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15. See Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 123, n. 121 (*i.e.*, the 2nd note numbered "121"), for the original German.

16. The German as given by Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 52, is as follows:

Hatt' Luther nie kein Buch geschrieben,
Deutschland wär' wohl zu Fried geblieben!

CHAPTER II

THE EMSERIAN CRITIQUE AND ITS INTRODUCTION

MARTIN Luther's "September Bible" of 1522 quickly found widespread reception in the German lands. Among the places where it saw rapid diffusion was Albertine Saxony, the territory of the strongly Catholic prince Duke George. Taking alarm over the situation, this ruler issued an order that by Christmas all copies of Luther's Testament sold in Ducal Saxony should be reclaimed. The success of the measure is, of course, to be sincerely doubted.

But other events took place within Albertine Saxony to weaken, if possible, the hold being achieved by the Lutheran Testament. By January 6, 1523, the University of Leipzig, for example, had issued its pronouncement against the new translation. Furthermore, Jerome Emser himself was commissioned by the Duke to examine the Reformer's Testament, and for this purpose was issued a confiscated copy of the work.

By September 21 Emser's critique was ready. Its publisher was Wolfgang Stöckel at Leipzig, and the title it bore was as follows: *On What Ground and for What Cause Luther's Translation of the New Testament Should Justly Be Forbidden the Common Man.* We shall hereafter refer to this work (which furnishes the focal point for our discussion in the present chapter and the next one) as *Auss was gründ*, the opening three words of its German title. The following year a revised edition went to press at Dresden under the title *Jerome Emser's Annotations Concerning Luther's New Testament Improved and Emended.* This we shall hereafter cite simply as *Annotationes*, the first word in its German title. (For the complete wording of the German titles to *Auss was gründ* and *Annotationes*, see Plates IV and V, where the title-pages of these works are presented in facsimile reproduction.)

On the reverse side of the title-page of Emser's *Auss was gründ* there is a poem of introduction, which in free translation—or rather, poetic paraphrase—might read somewhat like this (for the exact German, see the facsimile reproduction in Plate IV):

Auss was gründ vnnd vrsach

Luthers volnatzlyung vber das nauve testament dem gemeinē man billich vorbotten worden sey.

Mit scheynbarlicher anzeygung / wie / wo / vnd an wölchen stellen / Lůther den text vorkert / vnd vngetrewlich gehandelt / oder mit falschen glosen vnd vorreden auss der alten Christelichen ban / auff seyn vorteyl vnd whan gefurt hab.

Von dem Ordinario Loci / Meynem gnedigē Herrn / Herrn Adolpho Bischouen tzu Merßeburg vnd Fursten zu Anhalt ꝛc. vbersichtiget / vnd zugelassen.

Far hyn / mein Bock / in gots geleyt.
Laß dir die reyß nit wesen leydt.
Förcht dich nit vor des tewfels kindern
Dich mag jr schelten nit vorhindern /
Kompst aber zu eym Christen man /
Dem sag meyn grüß vnd dienst voran /
Sag wie ich jn durch got erman.
Das er in glouben vhest wöll stan /
Bot wirt die seinen nit volan /
Sanct Peters schiff nit vndergan /
Obs gleych ein tzeyt gedult muß han.
Allde / nu mach dich auff die ban.

PLATE IV. Title-page and Introductory Poem from Emser's *Auss was gründ*.
(British Museum Copy)

Vorred

Jewol etzlich/die ſich ſelbs Ewägeliſch rhümē/ein groſſen vordrieſz/murmel/vnnd klag habē/dz Luters dolmatſchūg vber dz nawe teſtamēt/dem gemeynen man zu leſen/oder bey ym zu haben vorbotten/So werden ſie doch (wā gleych ſūſt nichtzit wer) allein aus diſem ſtuck offentlich vormarckt/vñ geben ſich ſelber ſchuldig das ſie nicht recht Ewangeliſche leut ſein/Dann gleych wie Chriſtus den Juden) die ſich ſelber ouch rômetē/ Joan.8.
das ſie Abrahams kinder weren)tzu antwort gab/wo ſie ſeine kinder weren/ſo thettē ſie ſeine werck. Alſo mag man ouch tzu diſen ſprechen/wo ſie

PLATE V. Title-page and First Page of Foreword from Emser's *Annotationes* (British Museum Copy)

Run hence, my Goat, in God's escort.
Allow no being your trip to thwart.
Of the devil's children be not afraid;
They shan't you hinder nor upbraid.
But when to a Christian man you're led,
My greetings and service send ahead.
Tell how I admonish him through God
That he in the faith stand firmly shod.
God will not e'er His own forsake,
Nor Saint Peter's ship the bottom take
Though patience it for a time must keep.
Farewell! Now to the pathway leap!

The foreword to the *Auss was gründ* is fairly lengthy, occupying some thirty pages. Emser begins here by making reference to the murmuring and complaint on the part of some who praise themselves as evangelicals—murmuring and complaint over the fact that Luther's translation has been forbidden to the common man to read or possess. But, Emser states,

just as Christ answered the Jews that if they were Abraham's children they would do the works of Abraham, so also it may be said to these people that if they were evangelicals they would do the works indicated in the holy gospels. They would not accuse God-appointed rulership—would not say that the Duke, who will not accept Luther's heretical and false books, extinguishes the gospel or faith, or would exclude it by means of the sword. But they would be subject, without murmuring or backbiting, as has been taught by the gospels and by the true evangelical preachers—the apostles, and especially Peter and Paul.

After further preliminary remarks, including a rather parenthetical statement to the effect that Luther's Testament contains "1400 heretical errors and lies," Emser proceeds with a threefold general summary of reasons why the Lutheran translation should reasonably be forbidden.

First of all, Emser declares, the New Testament forms the foundation for Christian faith; and how important it is, therefore, that a translation into German or other language should be kept pure and unfalsified. The heathen king Ptolemy for the sake of the Old Testament alone went to the expense of calling seventy-two of the most learned rabbis from Jerusalem to Alexandria, gave them gifts and maintained them for a long period of time, so that with the permission and at the command of the high priest Eleazar they could prepare a trustworthy rendition of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek.[1] "Why then should we Christians accept so quickly the New Testament translation of one individual and especially of an openly declared heretic"—a translation not only issued "without the high priest's command, knowledge and will," but also "in annoyance, disgrace and injury, with slanderous, shameful figures, pictures, words and explanations"?

Emser's second point takes the form of a call for uniformity. It is not only necessary for "common Christianity" that the canonical writings remain unfalsified, but also that everywhere guides be uniform, so that emigrants will not in foreign places "hear, read, sing or preach the word of Christ differently from the way they have learned it at home in their church." In former times confusion arose from various translations being used—such as, the Septuagint, Aquila, Theodosius,

1. The reference is, obviously, to the translation of the Septuagint. Details as gathered from the Letter of Aristeas quoted by Josephus are now recognized as of little more than legendary worth.

Symmachus, Origen and several others—; and Pope Damasus, to remove the discord, commissioned "the holy Jerome" to prepare from the others a "trustworthy, steady and approved" translation. This translation has for over a thousand years been used unanimously by all Christendom—"preached in the churches and read in the schools." Furthermore, "no one from that time to ours has been so bold as to change a letter or word of it. It is no wonder that over such a long period it would become somewhat deranged at times, through the idleness or ignorance of copyists; but the same has happened to the Greek text as to ours."

Emser's third and final point deals with the need for trustworthiness of translation even "to the letter." Christ Himself has forewarned and said that "it is easier for heaven and earth to pass away than for a letter or dot of the law to be dropped." Thus, the translator must not only take into account the general meaning, "as paraphrasers do," but must also "give consideration to each individual word, letter, tittle or dot." And not one's own but "the Holy Spirit's understanding" must be followed. All of this "Luther in his translation has despised"; he "not only has omitted some words and letters but has also completely left out entire sayings, put others in their place, and confused . . . the old trustworthy text. . . . He has, moreover, poisoned it with heretical glosses and introductions, following not the Holy Spirit but his own mind and conceit."

After this three-point survey, Emser next turns his attention to the foreword of Luther's New Testament and to Luther's listing of the Bible books. Here he proceeds on the basis of a ten-point summary with critique.

His first point deals with Luther's handling of the "Gospel" as versus the "Gospels." "Luther in the beginning of his foreword," says Emser, "reproaches and departs from the old order of the Christian Church which . . . has accepted and confirmed the four evangelists and four gospels. Out of these Luther alone wishes to make one, perhaps the fifth, in order that he might be held as the fifth evangelist. For he states so scornfully that one ought to know there is only one gospel, just as there is only one book of the New Testament, only one faith, only one God, and so forth." In his rebuttal, Emser accuses Luther of poor logic: "If now in the New Testament there should not be more than one gospel, Luther has acted foolishly by translating four!"

Emser also appeals to ancient authority, mentioning the interpretation whereby the four living creatures of Ezekial and the Apocalypse are found to have application to the four gospels. Then he adds a note of criticism concerning Luther's statement that the New Testament is only one book.

Emser's second point deals with Luther's tendency to emphasize gospel in the New Testament in contrast to the law in the Old. Specifically, according to Emser's argument, Luther blames and reproaches the Christian teachers and the old enduring method of comparative presentation whereby both testaments are divided into books devoted to law, history, prophets, wisdom, and so forth. The Reformer does this by attacking the comparison between the law of Moses in the Old Testament and the law of Christ in the New Testament, and by claiming that the New Testament is no law book, but only a sermon of Christ in which the gospel and God's promise are presented. But how, Emser asks, can Luther deny that the New Testament is a law book, for has not "Christ Himself in many places called His holy gospel both a law and a commandment; as, for example, in Matthew 5—'Whoever breaks or dissolves one of these least commandments and teaches the people accordingly will be called least in the kingdom of heaven'"? Other examples are also provided, such as John 14, from which is quoted, "If you love me, keep my commandments." Some further discussion deals with the gospel's being a "promise," a concept to which Emser apparently does not take basic exception, inasmuch as "the forgiveness of sin and the kingdom of heaven are promised therein." But if it is a matter of Christ as the "seed of the woman," and so forth,—as per Luther's presentation of the matter—, then the gospel would "more reasonably be called a fulfilment than a promise."

As his third point, Emser discusses Luther's treatment of what the gospel signifies. That it means "good news" Emser does not deny. But he feels that the Reformer deceives people by claiming that Christ's victory over sin, death and hell brings them to the place where they sing, jump and are merry. There is more to the process than that. There is cross-bearing and a struggle against one's flesh, as is evidenced by Luke 14, "he who does not take his cross and follow Him may not be His disciple," and I Peter 2, "Christ has suffered for us and left you an example . . . that you follow His footsteps." Luther's teaching that the people have nothing to do "but sing, jump and be happy" is further placed in contrast with Christ's words to

His disciples, "The world will rejoice, but you will weep and mourn, though all grief and mourning . . . will eventually be turned to joy."

Emser's fourth challenge strikes at Luther's warning "that we do not make a Moses out of Christ." The Reformer makes a contrast between Moses and Christ, Emser points out, Moses being depicted in the Pentateuch as using pressure, compulsion, threats and punishment; and Christ, on the other hand, being pictured in the New Testament as giving invitation in friendly fashion, admonishing, standing and requesting, and so forth. The major portion of Emser's challenge is devoted to showing by scriptural evidence that Christ, too, uses pressure and compulsion, threats and punishments. For proof of compulsion on the part of Christ, Emser cites the statement in a parable of Luke 14, "Compel them to come in that my house may be filled." The threatening aspect of Christ may be seen, he argues, "not only by body and life as in Moses' case, but also by loss of eternal salvation." References from Matthew 10 and Luke 13 are cited: "You need not fear them which can kill the body alone and not the soul, but fear Him who can kill body and soul . . ."; and, "If you do not better yourselves and do penance, you will all perish. . . ." As for evidence of Christ's meting out punishment, reference is made, among other items, to Christ's cleansing of the temple and to the death of Ananias and Sapphira (Mark 11 and Acts 5). Such evidence, Emser concludes, clearly substantiates the old pathway wherein a likeness is seen between the Old and New Testaments—this indeed, as over against "Luther's new delusion," in which he finds a contrast between Moses and Christ.

Emser's fifth point deals with Luther's assertion that the gospel demands no works from us, that through it we may be pious and blissful, and that it condemns such works and requires only faith. Says Emser, Luther "has written in other of his books that we need not be afflicted at all over our works, be they good or bad." In rebuttal to this, Emser makes reference to Christ as the "strict judge" to whom "we cannot bring anything other than our works" (on the basis of Matthew 25), mentions Christ's statement of Matthew 5 to "let your light shine so that men may see your good works," and notices such examples of good works as Mary Magdalene, Martha, and Dorcas. Therefore, he concludes, "it is false and heretical for Luther to say that the gospel demands from us no works . . . but reproaches and condemns them." But it is true, he goes on to

say, "that our works, no matter how much they always glisten and shine outwardly, are not pleasing to God nor serve to bring us to salvation where God's grace is not operative and where also the lifestream of Christian love and devotion is not present inwardly—or where works do not occur with good meaning and intent, but arise out of covetousness, pride, hypocrisy or other wickedness. For it was by reason of this that the door of the heavenly kingdom was closed and barred for the five foolish virgins—they lacked this lifestream and oil in their lamps; that is, in their good works."

An attack on Luther then follows, the claim being made that the Reformer's cause and works have not sprung from a good heart and from love and devotion, but from pride, obstinacy and the like. After some further discussion, the conclusion for the section is drawn: Not only secular good works but also spiritual works and ceremonies of the cloister done with love, devotion and good intent will not be condemned by the gospel, but will be promoted and praised. Indeed, God will give great reward, as He has promised. And Luther cannot condemn, when "work-murderers" are still so morose and rancorous.

As his sixth point, Emser charges Luther with grabbing the saintly old father Jerome by the beard and attacking Jerome's foreword wherein the gospel is called a textbook. "For as Luther states it, it is neither a law nor a textbook, but only a sermon on the kindness of Christ, etc." Among Emser's counter-arguments are Paul's statement in Romans 15 that "all things which have been written have been written for our learning" and the account in Acts 1 which speaks not only of what Jesus began "to do, but also to teach." Emser argues further that all four evangelists picture Jesus as teaching and preaching, so why does Luther punish Saint Jerome so audaciously because the latter has called the gospel a textbook? But what will Luther not condemn and find fault with, when he even speaks of the epistle of the holy apostle Saint James as "a real straw epistle" ("ein rechte ströerin epistel")? This latter item—this "blasphemy and slander"—Emser promises to give further treatment when he deals with the Book of James.

Emser now goes on to his seventh point: Though Luther has in the earlier part of his foreword been deceiving the people with the idea that there is nothing to do but only to believe, now he declares at the end of his foreword that it is necessary to reveal faith through works. "Indeed, where faith is, says Luther, it cannot restrain itself; it bursts forth . . . but where

works and love do not break out, faith is not real." Emser proceeds to discuss Christian belief in God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit, and then presents four points he feels necessary for Christian faith; namely, baptism, profession, love and good works, and endurance to the end. These four points, he indicates, together with godly grace, provide the marriage garment necessary for the "marriage of faith"; and without this garment we will be thrust out from the supper into outer darkness. "From this it follows, that Christ's statement 'He who believes in Me has eternal life' . . . and 'he who believes in Me will not see death' is to be understood to apply, not to 'unclothed', but to attired, living, and working faith. Of this Paul says in Galatians 5 that through Christ only is validated the faith which works through love. And James says that faith without works is dead."

Emser next proceeds to a possible objection—someone's saying that "unclothed faith also, without works, saves man." Christ's words to Mary Magdalene and others—"your faith has saved you"—would be taken as evidence. "But I answer them," says Emser, "that the very faith of which Christ has spoken is not so entirely bare and unclothed, without works or signs of love." He proceeds then to argue this point, indicating, for example, that Mary Magdalene showed her faith by intense love and works and by bitter penance and sorrow for her sin. Works of penance, he suggests further, are always "external" as with Magdalene or "internal in the heart" as with the thief on the cross. The keynote of penance is continued as Emser remarks that "John, the forerunner of Christ, Christ himself, and after that the holy apostles began their preaching with penance."

Emser's concluding paragraph for his seventh point furthers the discussion of "unclothed" faith. Apparently such faith is not entirely useless and without meaning to him. First of all, both foolish and wise virgins are in the church together. Tares grow up beside the wheat. In the second place, "although your faith is dead, it nevertheless lives in the community of the Christian church, which prays for you daily"—a thing it "does for the heathen and other unbelievers only once in the year." In the third place, "although faith without works is dead, it nevertheless comes to life again as often as we put away sin, make confession, and do penance."

It appears that all in all, this seventh objection of Emser is not so much a criticism of Luther's foreword after all. Rather, it seems to function as a springboard from which

Emser can jump into his own interpretation of the relationship between faith and works.

Emser's eighth point takes the form of an objection to Luther's treatment concerning "which books in the New Testament are the best and most profitable." He seems to dislike the predilection which he claims Luther has for the Gospel of John and the Pauline and Petrine epistles because they "say little about the works of Christ and much about faith." In reality, Emser points out, John mentions many works of Christ which the other three gospels do not mention: Who of the four has written about Christ's conversation with Nathanael, the discussion with Nicodemus, or the raising of Lazarus? Who has written of the "grace-rich revelation" which Christ gave St. Thomas when the latter touched Christ's wounds and thrust his finger therein? Who tells of the man born blind to whom Christ gave sight? Who writes about Christ's commending His sheep to St. Peter and making him a shepherd over them? "John alone!" Continues Emser, "I will here refrain from mentioning the lawbreakers in the temple, the Samaritan woman by the well, and still other works which none but John has touched upon. How then does the 'work-murderer' Luther say that St. John has written little about works?"

The ninth point in Emser's foreword criticizes the rearrangement by Luther of the order of the books in the New Testament. Luther's listing does not follow the pattern adopted by the Christian church, and Paul has "forewarned us to beware of any brother who behaves or acts against the common order of the Christian church."

For his tenth and concluding point, Emser attacks Luther for abridging the New Testament and eliminating therefrom some books, "as, namely, the epistle to the Hebrews, the epistle of James, the epistle of Jude, and the mysterious Revelation of John, which the Christian church has canonized for a thousand years." Emser sees little light in Luther's argument that some ancients doubted the canonicity of these books, for should not the "harmonious ordering and approval of the whole Christian church" command "more firmness or faith in us than would illusion or doubt on the part of some isolated persons? Indeed, if one thing is rejected because some have doubts about it, heretics would finally reject not only the canonical books, but also even Christ himself, in that many Jews and heathen

doubt Him and do not accept Him as God's Son or the true Messiah."

The concluding remarks in Emser's Foreword suggest that even Luther's prologue to the New Testament would have given the Christian prince sufficient grounds to forbid Luther's translation. But the glosses are poisonous and the text itself has in many places been falsified, Emser contends. And to him it seems obvious that Luther must have consulted a Wycliffite or Hussite copy.

This latter thought, that Luther must have consulted some "heretical" source, and other considerations brought to attention in Emser's Foreword are frequently repeated in Emser's main text as well. In our next chapter our attention will be directed more specifically to this main text of the *Auss was gründ* and to criticisms Emser makes therein concerning Luther's rendition of the biblical text and also concerning certain Lutheran glosses to which Emser takes exception.

Auß dem heyligen Euāgelio Mathei vnd erstlich auß dem ersten Capitel.

IM ersten eyngang diß capittels / da Matheus spricht (wie vnser vnd Erasmus translation lawten) Das ist das buch / der geburth Jesu Christi / des sons dauid / des sons Abraham. Vlor dolmatschet Luther / der da ist ein son Dauids / des sons Abraham. Damit er ein nawē vorstand des texts einfaren wil / nämlich das Jesus sey gewest ein son Dauids. vnnd Dauid ein son Abrahams. Aber die alten heyligen väter sprechen / das der Euangelist Christū hie nit allein ein son Dauids Sonder ouch ein son Abrahams genent / vñ damit antzeygen haben wöl / das die vorheissung / so disen zweyen von Christo geschehen (wie Luther am rand selber bekent) durch dise geburt Christi erfult worden sey.

Wiewol nu Faber Stapulēsis jtzgemelte vrsach der alten / nit für bindig helt / Darumb das Christ nit allein den zweyen obgenanten / sonder ouch etzlichē andern alt vätern vorheissen worde / als Jacob Juda vnd andern / So hat doch der Euāgelist die obgemelten zwen den andern allen billich fürgezogen. Dañ sie die aller namhafftigisten / ehrlichisten vñ eltisten gewest / Abraham vnder den Patriarchen / vñ Dauid vnder den königen der Juden / die got sonderlich geliebt hat.

Zu dem ist ouch ein grosser vnderscheid zwüschē

PLATE VI. First Page of Emser's Treatment of Matthew in *Auss was gründ* (British Museum Copy)

CHAPTER III

THE EMSERIAN CRITIQUE: ITS TEXT

IT will not be possible here to treat in detail the main text of Emser's *Auss was gründ,* but our plan in the present chapter will rather be to provide a sampling of the type of material Emser has furnished. Though in some few instances comment will be made concerning which readings—Luther's or Emser's—would, on the basis of modern critical research, seem the more likely correct, it is not our purpose to provide a critical textual analysis. Nor do we plan to enter the arena of theological disputation: It is not our purpose to endeavor either to resolve or evaluate the theological niceties which we may meet. Rather, what we shall attempt to do is to present a fair, even though small, representation of the type of material Emser has provided in his *Auss was gründ,* allowing that to speak for itself. Some historical analysis or assessment will, of course, be in order.

As we turn our attention to Emser's treatment of Luther's Gospel of Matthew, we find that the first criticism levelled against Luther's rendition deals with the very first verse in the New Testament. Here Luther has translated in such a way as to indicate that Jesus Christ was "a son of David, the son of Abraham" ("ein son Dauids / des sons Abraham") rather than "the son of David, the son of Abraham" ("des sons dauid / des sons Abraham"). The latter rendition—that which would be indicated by the Latin and by Erasmus—was significant for Emser, for, as he states it, "the old holy fathers say that the Evangelist here does not call Christ a son of David alone, but also a son of Abraham, and thus have well shown that the promise given these two individuals about Christ . . . was fulfilled through this birth of Christ." Emser does, in parenthesis, remark that Luther himself gives marginal recognition to this fact. Modern textual criticism tends to substantiate the Emserian reading, but whether or not there is basis for the fine distinction Emser makes in his interpretation of the matter is, of course, a question which may easily be debated. In any event, according to either reading, Abraham as well as David was an ancestor of Christ.

After some further discussion of the Messianic promises of the Old Testament, Emser attacks the Lutheran translation on the basis of grammar. Right here in the beginning, he says, Luther has confused a genitive with a nominative. But a thousand times over Luther mistranslates present, past, and future tenses and the like—but "wherein these errors deal only with grammar and not matters of faith," Emser will pass them by and not make note of them!

One further point of attack in Matthew 1 is the genealogical list of the ancestry of Christ. Luther has changed the names from the customary manner of presenting them! He "names them, not according to our text or Erasmus', but according to his Hussite text." Then follows an explanation of the manner in which discrepancies in spelling can arise because of the linguistic considerations involved—"changed by the Jews, changed by the Chaldeans, changed by the Greeks and changed by us . . . so that the Jewish pointing and the Greek vowels are at times converted into other vowels in Latin." Also the question of aspiration is called to attention, and Emser indicates that "for us" it is "much more customary and brief" to speak and write "Raab" rather than "Rahab" or "rachab," "Naason" rather than "nahason," "Osias" rather than "Hosias," "Osanna" rather than "Hosianna."[1] The conclusion to the discussion is that while the dispute over the matter still continues ("while the war still hangs undecided"—"dieweil der krieg noch vnentscheidē hāget"), "we shall maintain the common usage and write, read and sing the said names as the Latin Church has unanimously done till now."

In Matthew 2 a point for attack is found in connection with verse 18: Here "Rachel's children" are referred to as "dead" ("es war auss mit inen" as Emser quotes Luther's rendition) rather than simply "they are not" ("sie nit sein" being the translation Emser would give for "quia non sunt" of the Church's text or "quod non sint" of Erasmus' Latin translation from the Greek). Here, Emser complains, Luther not only violates the letter, but also "the spiritual meaning according to which Rachel signifies the Christian church," which mourns for her children when they are persecuted and killed. But Luther reveals in his

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1. These particular examples may partake somewhat of the character of generalizations rather than specific illustrations of Luther's rendition of the genealogical list, for in that list as it appears in Luther's September Bible we find "Osia" rather than "Hosias" and nothing whatever to compare with "Hosianna."

gloss at that very point, so continues Emser, that the meaning of the passage quoted from Jeremiah is precisely what Emser says it is. Moreover, since "Luther himself acknowledges that God can maintain His church against all the power of hell," he should also readily gather that God can easily "protect it against him and other heretics"! What does it help him, then, that he so "miserably persecutes the Christian church and censures and reproaches all its arrangements and old customs"?

Among further Emserian criticisms of Luther's translation of the Gospel of Matthew are the following: In Matthew 3:2 and 4:17 the Reformer has produced "Make yourselves better" ("bessert euch") instead of the "Do penance" ("thut büss") which Emser felt was correct. In Matthew 6:9-13 Luther has made several errors in connection with the Lord's Prayer, including the addition of "For thine is the kingdom, the power and the holiness forever, amen," which words Emser would wish left out. In Matthew 7:1, Luther failed to follow up his "Judge not, that you be not judged" with another clause Emser thought should be present; namely, "Condemn not, that you be not condemned." Emser claims that Luther omitted this latter clause because the Reformer alone wished to condemn everyone and in turn be condemned by no one—an interpretation of the matter which can, of course, be seriously questioned inasmuch as textual evidence favors the omission made by Luther.[2]

In Matthew 17:2 Luther used the expression "white as a light" rather than "as the snow." And though Emser adduces the "approved text," the parallel passage in Mark 9, and Jerome and Chrysostom in favor of the latter reading, modern research would tend to corroborate Luther's rendition. In the last verse of Matthew 18 Luther has added the words "his mistakes," says Emser. And this time modern criticism would tend to favor the Emserian reading. The same is true in the case of Matthew 20:22, where Luther follows up the rhetorical question, "Can you drink the cup which I drink?" with another one, "and be baptized with the baptism with which I am baptized?" The latter question, Emser maintains (evidently quite correctly), represents words coming from Luke but not from Matthew. In Matthew 20:23 Emser takes exception to Luther's rendition which makes Christ say He does not have the "power" ("macht")

2. For more complete information on the criticisms pertaining to Matthew 6 and 7, see the "annotations" quoted in Chapter V, below. In this critique "holiness" ("heylikeit"; "heyligkeit" in the annotation) appears instead of "glory" in the Lord's Prayer. A marginal note in Emser's NT, however, corrects the word to "herlickeit."

to grant the seats on His right hand or His left in His kingdom. This apparent thrust against Christ's power, Emser feels, represents heretical dealing with the text. Again, in verse 25 of the same chapter, Luther's rendition "temporal princes" does not harmonize with Emser's belief that the rendition should be "princes of the heathen."[3] And in Matthew 26:26, where we find Luther translating that Christ "gave thanks" for the bread, Emser maintains that the rendition ought to be "blessed" the bread.

Certain of Emser's criticisms deal more specifically with glosses of the Lutheran Testament than with translation as such. This may be illustrated in connection with Emser's treatment of Matthew 9, where the critic opens his discussion by saying that "this chapter is also larded with rotten Lutheran glosses." Then he proceeds to deal with the glosses. The first gloss treats the matter of offerings, and Emser challenges at length the idea that fasting and sacrifice are not highly regarded by God. A gloss to the words "bear affliction" provides Emser with a target for the discharge of further ammunition: Here Luther has said that affliction is displeasing to God and has compared monks with the priests of Baal. But, says Emser, certainly there is a great difference between the priests of idols and "our priests, monks, nuns, or other pious Christians. . . ." Then, after a defense of his own position, he concludes by remarking that this Lutheran gloss is "a good gloss for the corrupt brethren who do not like to fast or pray and who would gladly be released from their regulations!"

The foregoing are only samplings of the type of criticism Emser levelled at Luther's translation of the Gospel of Matthew. Occasionally he has gone into rather extended discussions of various points, his treatment of Matthew occupying, in fact, some forty pages of his *Auss was gründ.* By way of contrast, he has treated the Gospel of Mark in but slightly over six pages. As further indication of the style and content of Emser's criticisms, we will now turn our attention to his treatment of Luther's Gospel of Mark. In this connection, we will present a complete listing of the points Emser makes, though we shall not endeavor to provide his full discussion in each instance.

Mark 1: In Paragraph 10 of Luther's translation, Emser finds the demoniac of Capernaum addressing Christ, "Stop, what have we to do with you?" But Emser does not find the word "Stop" ("halt") in either the Greek or Latin Texts. In

3. A second criticism finds mention again in connection with Mark 10. For information concerning this, see below, p. 53.

Paragraph 11, Emser objects to Luther's rendition, "And they went out of the synagogue and came quickly into the house of Simon." As Emser states his argument, "The text does not tell whether they came 'quickly' or 'slowly' into Simon's house," the gist of the text rather being that "'as soon as' they had gone out of the synagogue" they entered Simon's house.[4]

Mark 2: In Paragraph 4, where Christ defends His disciples concerning the question of why they do not fast, "the Greek and our text," states Emser, have Him saying that the time would come when the Bridegroom would be taken away and then they would fast "in these days." But the words "in these days" Luther has omitted! Nevertheless, Christ spoke those words, their implication being that as the Jews then had fasting, so "subsequently in Christianity" something similar would be prescribed.

Mark 3: In this chapter Luther has rendered "Boanerges" as "Bnehargem" and "the holy Bartholomeo" as "Bar Ptolomeon" ("Bar ptolemeon," as it appears in Luther's September Bible). Observations concerning the use of these variants furnish the substance of the critical material for Chapter 3.

Mark 5 (there is no comment for Mark 4): "In the beginning of this chapter where Luther has translated 'and they came to the other side of the sea in the region of the Garadenes' our text does not have 'the Garadenes' but 'the Gerasenes,'" Emser states, and "Luther himself has previously in Matthew 8 also rendered 'the Gerasenes' and not 'the Garadenes'" (Luther's rendition is "Gadarenes" and "Gergasenes" in the places mentioned.) Another criticism is also furnished: "In the last paragraph, where the text reads 'Tabitha cumi,' it should not be 'Tabitha' but 'Talitha'" (the spelling in Luther's September Bible is "Thabitha kumi").

Mark 6: Emser comments as follows: "In the second paragraph of this chapter Luther supplements the text with 'I

4. In German, Luther's rendition actually reads thus: "Vnd sie giengen aus der schulen / vñ kamen bald ynn die haus Simonis. . . ." Though Emser obviously understands the "kamen bald" as signifying a "quick" entry into the house, might not Luther's meaning have been "soon" or "direct" entry following the departure from the synagogue? And in such case, would Luther and Emser be so far apart after all?

say unto you truly it will be more bearable in the day of judgment for Sodom and Gomorrha than for such city,' which words are not to be read in Mark but in Matthew and Luke."

Mark 7: In Paragraph 4, Luther has indicated that what goes into a man makes him "common," but the wording should be "spotted" or "unclean," Emser declares. Later, "where Luther translates, 'and she was a Greek woman of Syrophoenicia,' our text says, not 'a Greek' but 'a heathen woman,' etc." Emser expands upon this latter remark by giving a brief delineation of the geographical region involved.

Mark 8: Emser brings in several criticisms of Luther's rendition of this chapter. Says Emser, in the fourth paragraph "where Luther translates 'and He sent him home and said, Do not enter the village and also tell no one therein,' etc., he has changed part of our text and left out part of it. It reads thus: 'And He sent him home, and said, Go home to your house, and as you enter the village you shall tell no one about it.'

"In the last paragraph, where Luther translates into German, 'For he who will keep his life shall lose it' our text does not have 'his life' but 'his soul.' That Christ is not speaking here of temporal life but of the life of the soul is made clear by the following words, where He says (and Luther himself translates into German), 'What does it help a man if he gain the whole world and sustain injury to his soul. . . ?'

"In the same paragraph Luther changes our text in two places"—by failing to follow up the expression, "'He who is ashamed of Me and My words' and below it 'of him also will the Son of man be ashamed'" with what "our text both times expresses, namely, 'Him who acknowledges Me and My words the Son of man will also acknowledge.'"

Mark 9: At the end of this chapter Luther's rendition "It must all be salted with fire" should not be, according to Emser's text, "It must all," but rather "Every individual must be salted with fire." Emser also comments on the accompanying gloss, where Luther declares the salt to signify "forbearance and peace." It is clear to Emser that the Reformer is "unsalted" and "that the salt has become entirely insipid in him, for in all his sermons, writings and teaching neither forbearance nor peace is noticeable."

Mark 10: In the first paragraph Luther's translation is "And they two become one flesh," in contrast to the text Emser uses, wherein the wording is "And it becomes two in one flesh." In the fourth paragraph where Christ has said, "Sell all that you have and give to the poor," Luther has, according to Emser, added the words, "And take the cross upon you." Then there is also an objection which we have already met in Matthew 20—Luther's making Christ say that He did not have the "power" to grant the seats on His right hand and left hand in His kingdom. A fourth Emserian criticism in this chapter deals with Luther's translation concerning the "power" ("gewalt") of temporal rulers mentioned by Christ. Luther's rendition brings ignominy to rulers, so feels Emser, for it says they "govern with force" rather than "they have power"—that is, "authority over their subjects, which power they have from God. Romans 13." [5]

Mark 11: Luther creates an addition to the text here, according to Emser, by mentioning Bethphage in connection with Jerusalem and Bethany. A second criticism is also given: "At the end of the fourth paragraph our text has 'But if you do not forgive one another, so also your Father in heaven will not forgive your sins,' all of which Luther has left within his pen."

Mark 13 (there is no comment on Mark 12): Luther has translated a portion of the text to read that Christ will gather His elect "from one end of the earth to the other"; but Emser's text says rather, "from the uppermost part of the world to the height of heaven." Also in this chapter, Emser continues, Luther has added a clause in connection with Christ's mention of the "desolating abomination." This clause is, namely, "as the prophet Daniel has said," which words are not in the text. However, on the basis of Matthew 24 the truthfulness of the statement is certain, Emser admits, for Daniel did speak about what is mentioned in this particular context.

Mark 14: In the first paragraph Luther has given a rendition, "the water could have been sold for more than a hundred *pfennigs*." Emser here finds two points for attack: "Neither the Greek nor our text speaks of water but of fragrant oil or ointment. Furthermore, they say nothing about 'a hundred' but

5. This criticism is also presented in Matthew. See ft. 3, above.

about 'three hundred' *pfennigs.*" [6] Emser concludes by indicating his feeling that "Luther must certainly have had another copy from that which the Latin or Greek church has."

This completes Emser's critique of Luther's rendition of Mark, no comments being given for Chapters 15 and 16. A consideration of the criticisms pertaining to Mark, as well as those noted for Matthew, will reveal that various types of items are called to attention.

Perhaps we can say that one main type of such items is the kind dealing with omissions, additions or variant readings which could easily have been disputed—and still can easily be disputed—on the basis of Greek and Latin texts and ancient authorities. One example would be the usage pertaining to "Gerasenes" or "Garadenes" in Mark 5. Another example would be the second item Emser mentioned for Mark 11. In this latter instance, modern scholarship would tend to favor the Lutheran omission (which in reality is the sum total of verse 26), but on the basis of some ancient authorities an argument could certainly also be produced in favor of the Emserian inclusion.

At times the point of difficulty for Emser seems to be Luther's carrying over to one Gospel something from a parallel account in another Gospel. Examples of this kind of problem would be the mention of the prophet Daniel in Mark 13 and the insertion of an added question in Matthew 20. Of course, as Emser himself has indicated with regard to the mention of Daniel in Mark 13, the statement given would express the truth even though the translation itself would not be true to the biblical text.

Then too, there are doctrinal differences involved. And sometimes Emser seems to take great pains to elucidate such. One could well wonder, however, with regard to certain of his criticisms in this respect, whether he may not at times have become a bit overzealous. Are the "bones of contention" always as great as he thought they were?

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6. Though the latter criticism is correctly stated (and the suggested reading appears to be substantiated by modern research as well), Emser has apparently overlooked a factor which might well raise some objection to the validity of his first criticism: Luther does not speak merely of "water" but of "expensive spikenard 'water'" ("kostlichem narden wasser"). Incidentally, the place cited is Paragraph 2 rather than Paragraph 1.

From the standpoint of modern textual criticism and linguistic research, we would probably have to conclude that both Emser and Luther are partly right and partly wrong. As far as the text itself is concerned, the readings to be preferred would quite likely lie about equally on the side of the critic and on the side of the criticized. Of course, a good deal of the problem which Emser finds with Luther undoubtedly stems from two facts: First, Luther's was a rather free translation; it was not slavishly tied down to the letter of the original. And second, Luther was not so much concerned with the Latin Vulgate and with Catholic interpretation of Scripture as was Emser, but felt free to use other sources, chief of which was the second edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament (or perhaps *Gerbel's* reprint of Erasmus' text).

We have now provided sufficient samplings of the type of material to be found in Emser's treatment of the Gospels. These samplings will serve also as an indication of Emser's procedure in general throughout his *Auss was gründ.* However, before we close our discussion of this work, it would be well for us to turn our attention briefly to the "historical book of the New Testament"—the Book of Acts of the Apostles—, and to one of the most significant Pauline epistles for Luther—the Book of Romans.

A foreword to Emser's section on the Acts criticizes Luther for saying that this Bible book is "the second part of the Gospel of Luke." "I do not know of more than one Gospel which Luke wrote," Emser continues, "and this book is no Gospel; it is a history or legend."

In the first paragraph of Acts 1 Luther's rendition, "And as He had gathered them together" should have been, according to all copies of the Latin text Emser had seen, "And as He ate, or had eaten, with them." In the second paragraph, Luther's translation, "It is not given to you to know time and day" should rather have been "time and while" ("zeyt vnd weyle"); for *"momentum* means, not a whole day, but a short while, about the 'wink of an eye.'"

In the first paragraph of Acts 2 Luther has given the rendition, "And they began to preach." According to Emser's text, the wording should have been "And they began to speak." Luther wishes to make all free to preach, Emser claims, "as

among the Picards even the manual-laboring people preach." And in that the Greek agrees with "our text" it becomes clear that Luther had "a Hussite Bible before him, from which he has translated his Testament into German."

The last criticism of Luther's translation of Acts is an interesting little item dealing with Chapter 27. Where Luther has translated "And when they had lifted the anchor," Emser declares that "our approved text says nothing about any anchor, but . . . gives *et lenato artemone.*" The *artemone,* however, is a confusion come about through an "unlearned scribe"; the word should be *antemon,* which signifies a small sail which seamen "hoist when the wind opposes the ship or blows from the side."

In turning to the Book of Romans, we find Emser giving a lengthy introduction, which attacks point by point the long prologue to Romans he has found in Luther's New Testament. He explains the general situation and his own procedure as follows:

> Through this epistle, which Paul wrote to the Romans to make peace between the Jews and the heathen . . . Luther has diligently occupied himself to bring about quarrel and warfare among us Christians. And though the same epistle has no more than sixteen chapters, Luther has provided in his foreword alone forty paragraphs or sections on it. These, together with the accompanying glosses, make the comment much longer than the text . . . the soup more than the meat, which he nevertheless has oversalted. . . .The harmonious little foreword of Saint Jerome gives a much better taste and understanding to this epistle than does Luther's tedious and wordy tittle-tattle.
>
> But in order that the common man may see and grasp how falsely he [Luther] would handle this epistle, we first of all take and correct the said foreword.

Then follows some thirty pages of such "correction" in paragraph-by-paragraph critique. In Luther's first paragraph, says Emser, the Reformer "speaks as if he would do service to this epistle and prepare an introduction. . . . But who has commanded Luther to do this service? or to do nothing but praise himself and despise other people?" Mention is also made to the effect that "the said epistle is so full and clear that it needs no exposition"; thus Luther could "reasonably have been spared his tedious gossip"!

As for the second paragraph of Luther's introduction to the Book of Romans, "here," says Emser, "Luther wishes to develop a new gibberish and teach us that law is not law, grace not grace, sin not sin, etc., and states among other things that the word 'law' must not be understood here. . . . Luther says further that anyone in himself has disinclination to good and inclination toward evil. Therefore no one keeps or could keep the law from the heart." Emser's reply, in small part, is that "certainly when a man has so cold a heart to the law as Luther," then it is impossible to keep the law; but it was not impossible for "Cornelius, Job, David, Abraham and others."

Most of the discussion pertaining to the paragraphs from Luther's foreword deals with the matter of law, works, grace and the Christian life. Frequently Emser lumps together in his discussion two or more Lutheran paragraphs for joint treatment. This is the case, for example, with Paragraphs 16 and 17, in which Luther has defined "spirit" and "flesh." Emser here challenges the idea that "the entire person, with body and soul, with reason and mind" is "born of flesh." That idea, he says, "is false and heretical, for the soul has not been born of flesh but created by God."

Even in regard to Lutheran paragraphs which are "short enough in themselves," Emser finds abundant grounds for attack, as is the case with Paragraph 35. Here Emser gives nearly two pages of discussion to four "lies" which he claims to have found in this one paragraph. These "lies" are as follows: First, "Luther tells how Paul in the twelfth chapter makes all Christians priests." Second, "Luther tells how Paul here teaches that we should not offer money, cattle or similar things as were offered in the Law." Third, "Luther tells how Paul here describes the spiritual realm alone," which conclusion is wrong on the basis that all Christianity is "compared to a body composed of many members." And the "fourth lie" deals with active faith: If it is the "unclothed faith," then Luther's statement is manifestly a lie; but if it is faith united with love and working through love, then Luther "says nothing other than that which the scholastics have long declared."

Emser's discussion of the next "short" paragraph, Paragraph 36, is much more succinct, occupying but about half a page of this critique. "As short as this paragraph is," he declares, "still it is not without lies." The main bone of contention is that Luther has applied Paul's mention of "power, authority and sword" in Romans 13 to the secular sphere. "But Saint Paul

himself gives the lie to him in that he names neither 'spiritual' nor 'worldly' authority, but speaks of the 'authority' in the 'indefinite' and in the 'common.'" Reference is then made to Peter's experience with Malchus in the garden and to the fact that "two swords" were there mentioned.

With this brief account of Emser's criticism of Luther's prologue to Romans, we turn next to a few examples of the criticism of the text itself.

In the first paragraph of the first chapter, Emser objects to the wording "and was mightily revealed a Son of God from the time He was resurrected." Neither Greek nor Latin texts give "from the time," Emser asserts, but rather "on the basis of." Furthermore, "it is untrue that Christ was first recognized or revealed as God's Son at the time of His resurrection, for long before either His death or resurrection, Peter and Nathanael had designated Him as Christ, the Son of God. Likewise also had the evil spirits confessed and called out, 'What have we to do with you, Jesus, you Son of God?'"

In connection with the ninth chapter of Romans, Emser feels Luther has "left within his pen" a clause which should follow the statement of the fifth paragraph, "I will call those my people who are not my people and those my beloved who are not my beloved." The added clause from "our trustworthy text" is "and those as having attained mercy who have not attained mercy."

A truly large proportion of Emser's critique of Luther's rendition of the Book of Romans deals with Lutheran glosses rather than with translation as such. In fact, Chapters 2 through 8 contain little else than treatment of glosses. As an illustration of this type of material we may note Emser's discussion concerning Romans 3:

> With the tedious gloss which Luther here has attached, he wishes to persuade us that we should confess all our works to be sin. His opinion is that sin also remains in us after baptism. But that is false and untrue on both scores. For Paul shows in Romans 8 that all our sin is removed through faith and baptism. He says that there is nothing condemnatory in those who are in Christ Jesus and who do not live according to the flesh. In the second place, just as no one can say he is without sin, so also no one can truthfully say that all works are sin. If fasting, giving of alms, praying, doing penance, etc.,

were sin, then God has bidden us to sin, and Christ himself has sinned, for He himself also fasted, prayed, preached and did other good works. . . .

In the second gloss Luther says, "Mark this when he says they are all sinners, etc.; it is the principal piece and central part of this epistle and the entire Scripture," etc. "Therefore grasp this text well. . . ."

Yes, indeed, your beloved lord and friend did precisely note that Luther would lead the poor and foolish onto his "place of lies" and deceive them. For, first of all, he translated falsely the wording of Paul, who did not say "they are all sinners," but "they have all sinned and need the glory of God." Likewise, John . . . does not say that we are all sinners, but that no one may claim that he has no sin nor has done any sin. . . .To have committed sin and to be a sinner are two different things.

Therefore Paul says well that there is no difference between Jews and heathen, for we have all sinned. But he does not say that all our works are sin or that we all are and remain sinners. . . .

In the third gloss where Luther says faith fulfills all law, works fulfill no tittle of the law, etc., I reply that if Luther without works and love possessed even a "mountain-removing" faith, his faith would not be worth a tittle. For neither faith without works nor works without faith fulfills the law; but they both, together with godly grace, are united with one another. . . .

The foregoing excerpts and summarizations will serve to provide at least an indication of what Emser's *Auss was gründ* was like. Emser himself, in a subscript or epilogue, yielded his own evaluation of his work: "After I now—praise God!—bring this book to a close and in it have pointed out a large heap of errors, lies and false teachings, every intelligent reader can easily judge for himself" that Luther's Testament "is not unjustly forbidden"—or, should "justly be forbidden where such is not the case." It may be that Lutheran individuals will accuse Emser of envy or hatred against Luther, but "God knows my heart" and "every honest man reading this book can by himself recognize that I did not proceed on the basis of mischief but because of an obvious need. . . ."

Undoubtedly Emser's intentions were honorable enough. And it is true that in many instances his suggestions for textual readings do seem preferable to Luther's. On the other hand, in many other instances it appears equally certain that Luther had the better rendition. Also, a good deal of the disagreement voiced in Emser's critique arose, not so much from

thorough-going critical study, as from basically differing theological presuppositions on the part of the two men. Furthermore, Emser seems at times to have misunderstood Luther.[7]

In any event, neither Emser's *Auss was gründ* nor its revised edition, the *Annotationes*, seemed able to stifle the interest in Luther's German Bible. Perhaps Emser himself had some inkling that such might be the case, for he did not close the afore-mentioned epilogue to his *Auss was gründ* without making an interesting appeal for the production of a new Catholic Bible translation: "It is my sincere counsel and humble request," he says, "that our prelates, the German bishops . . . would do half as much for the Word of God as did the heathen Ptolemy." Even if they could not have the "seventy-two" scholars of Ptolemy, they could call together some scholars, skilled persons and God-fearing men that "out of the old and new translations" could assemble and bring to press "a trustworthy, steady and consonant German Bible" which would "make both of Luther's Testaments a dung heap" and protect many souls from deception and eternal condemnation and loss.

7. It must be remembered too, of course, that Luther recognized the need for revision of his own work. Some 570 to 580 changes were, in fact, incorporated in his December Testament.

CHAPTER IV

EMSER'S NEW TESTAMENT OF 1527

EMSER'S appeal to the German bishops to call together some learned and God-fearing men to produce an authentic German Bible from old and new translations seems to have gone unheeded. Meanwhile more and more editions of Luther's New Testament were appearing. Moreover, Duke George himself was apparently beginning by this time to feel keenly the need for a New Testament to run competition with Luther's version. In fact, the Duke was undoubtedly becoming only too well aware of an adverse sentiment which had developed on the part of many of his own subjects. They seemed to think that his prohibition of the Lutheran version was evidence of his being against the true word of God. To fill the needs of the time, therefore, Duke George commissioned Emser with the task of preparing a corrected New Testament. This New Testament appeared on August 1, 1527, in Dresden.

The Emserian New Testament was, however, by no means the first Catholic Bible in German. During the Middle Ages numerous manuscript versions of the Bible or portions of it had been produced, and since the invention of movable type about the middle of the fifteenth century a large number of printed editions had also appeared.[1] In fact, no fewer than eighteen editions of the complete Bible in German—fourteen in High German and four in Low German—had appeared before the publication of Luther's "September Bible" of 1522. The first of these was a High-German edition published as early as 1466 by Johann Mentel in Strassburg. Another High-German edition from Strassburg—that of Heinrich Eggestein—was issued within but a few years afterwards. And before the end of the fifteenth

1. For comprehensive treatment of the German Bible of the Middle Ages see especially Wilhelm Walther, *Die deutsche Bibelübersetzung des Mittlelalters*, 3 Parts (Braunschweig: Hellmuth Wollerman, 1889, 1891, 1892). Also of interest are Friedrich Maurer, *Studien zur mitteldeutschen Bibelübersetzung vor Luther* (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1929); Reu, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-74; and Hans Rost, *Die Bibel im Mittelalter* (Augsburg: M. Seitz, 1939), esp. pp. 309-366, 402-406, 415-419. Brief information and some facsimile reproduction are given by Oscar Paret, *Die Bibel: Ihre Überlieferung in Druck und Schrift* (Stuttgart: Württ. Bibelanstalt, 1949). See pp. 11, 12, 22, 23, and Plates 43-47, 51, 52.

PLATE VII. Woodcut and Second Title-page (Half-title-page) from E-1527
(British Museum Copy)

century twelve of the High-German and three of the Low-German editions had already been printed. Places of publication for these various Bibles included Strassburg, Augsburg, and Nuremberg for the High-German editions and Cologne and Lübeck for the Low-German ones. The final two pre-Lutheran High-German Bibles appeared in Augsburg in 1507 and 1518; and the final pre-Lutheran Low-German edition was the Halberstadt Bible of 1522, to which we have already made passing reference in our Introduction.

There can be no doubt but that these various editions, or at least most of them, gained a fair degree of acceptance. The very fact that publishers found it worthwhile to continue issuing new editions of the German Bible would be witness to the popularity of such publications. And it is of interest to notice, in this connection, that printed encouragement for the reading of the Bible in the vernacular was also given at times. The introduction to the Cologne West-Low-German Bible of about 1480, for example, states that "every Christian person" should read "this Book of Holy Scripture with great devotion and fervor." The highly learned faculty of theology, it goes on to say, should read and use Jerome's Latin version, but "unlearned, simple men, both ecclesiastical and lay . . . should have this contemporary Book of the Bible, correctly translated from the Latin text into German." The Lübeck Low-German edition of 1494 also indicates in its introduction that it should be read with all fervor, but that it should be understood as "the holy Roman Christian Church, spread out throughout the entire world, understands it."

From the foregoing, it will be obvious that at the time of the publication of Emser's New Testament, the thought of having a vernacular Bible was certainly not something entirely new within Catholic circles. There was indeed already a fairly rich background of tradition with regard to the German Bible.

But as far as the pre-Lutheran German Bibles themselves are concerned, we must also recognize that they were in no position to counteract or run competition to Luther's version. Most of them had, in fact, undoubtedly been out of print for many years. Moreover, Luther's translation seems for various reasons to have gained immediately a popularity which they could hardly have been expected to match even had they all been printed in the third decade of the sixteenth century.

Emser, by preparing his new Catholic translation, was indeed, as we can well see, fulfilling a real and urgent need on the part of the Catholic party. Though preparation of a Catholic

Sancti Matthei

brynget eine gude frucht/de werde affgehouwē vñ werde gelecht yn dat vůr vnd vorwar ick dō pe tw yn dē watere yn de bote/men de na my ys tokomende de ys sterker dan ik/des ik nicht werdich byn tho dregen syne scho de wert yw dōpen yn dē hylgen geyste vñ yn dem vůre/de weyger ys yn syner hant/vñ de dorch reynget syne dele vnde vorsammelt dē weten yn syne schune sůnd dat kaff vorbrent he yn dem vnloeschliken vůre. ¶ Do kam iesus van galilea yn dē iordan to iohannē/vp dat he worde gedofft vā ōm Johannes auer vorbot ōm seggende ick schal werdē gedofft van dy vnde du kůmest to my Jesus antwerde vñ sprak lat nu. wēte so temet vns to vorfullē alle rechticheit Do led he ōn to/vñ do iesus was gedofft to d stunt stech he vt dē watere/vñ sů de hymmele worden ōm vpgedan/ vñ sach dē geyst godes nedōstigē also eyne duue vñ komende vp ōn/vnd sů eyne stymē van dē hymele seggende/dyt ys myn leue sone yn dē ik my behage.

Dath. iiij. Capittel secht. xvo

Cristus vā dē geyste yn de wōstenye gedōret vñ aldar vā dē duuel vorsocht wart/vñ wo he dar na yn Capharnaū kam vnde hoff an to leren vñ tho predigen: de bote/vnd wo he petrum andream iacobum vnd iohannem eyschede vnde vele kranken gesunt makede.

DO wart iesus gedōret van dem geyste yn de wōstenye/ vp dat he worde bekōrt van dem duuele. Vnd do he hadde gefastet. xl. dage vnd. xl nacht/daer na hungerde ōhm. Vnnd de vorsōker nalede sick vnnd sprak tho ōm/ bystu de sone godes so segge dat dusse steyne werden brot/he antworde vñ sprak/ dat ys geschrewē/de mynsche leuet nicht allene yn dē brode/sunder yn allen wordē de dar gan vt dem mūde godes. Do nam ōn de duuel yn de hilgen stat vnd settede ōn vp de hōgede des tempels vnd sprak to ōm Bystu de sone godes so lat dy hyr to rugge affwente dat ys geschreuen dat he heft geboden synē engelē van dy/vnd se werden dy holden yn den hendē dat du nicht yn den voet nicht enstregest an dem steyne. Vnd iesus antwerdede ōm/dat ys geschreuen nicht bekōre dynen heren god Echter nam ōn de duuel vp eynē hogen berch/vnde wysede ōm alle ryke der werlde vnd ore ere vnd sprak tho ōm. Alle dusse gene ick dy efft du nedder vallest vnd ambedest my. Do sprak iesus tho ōm. Ga sathanas/wente dat ys geschreuen dynen heren god schaltu ambeden vnd dem allene deynē. Do vorled ōn de dūuel/vnd sů de engele naleden sick vnde deyneden ōm. ¶ Vnd do iesus horde dath iohannes was gefangen/he schedede van dar yn galilea/vnnd vorled de stat nazaret/he kam vñ wonede yn der stat capharnaū by dem meere yn dē enden zabulon vnnd neptalym/vp dat vullenbrocht worde dat gesecht ys dorch den propheten esayam. Du erde zabulon vnd du erde neptalim ein wech des meeres ouer den iordan galilee der heyden/dath volk dat dar wanderde yn dūsternisse dat hefft geseen eyn grot licht/vnd de dar seten yn dē lande der dunkerheyt des dodes/dē ys eyn licht vpgegan. Dar na begunde iesus to predigende/vñ seggende. Dot bote wente dat ryke der hymmele nalet sik. ¶ Vñ do iesus gink by dē meere galileehe sach twe brodere/symonem de dar ys geheten petrus/vnd andream synen broder/werpende de nette yn dat water/wente se weren vysscher/vnd he sprak to ōn. Komet na my/vñ ick wyl yw maken vysscher der mynschē/ vnd tohant vorleten se de nette vnd volgeden ōm na. Vnd he vort gink van dar vnde sach twe ander brōdere/iacobum zebedei vnd iohannem synē broder/yn dē schepe mit zebedeo ōrē vader wedder makende ōre nette vnd he rep se/vnd to der stunt vorletē ße de nette vnd den vader/vnnd volgeden ōm nc. ¶ Vnd iesus vmēgink alle galylea lerende yn ōren synagogē/vnd predigede dat euangelū des rykes vñ makede gesunt alle krankheyt/vnd de daer dunel ynne hadden vnd mansuchtige vnd de gichtige/ vnd he makede se gesunt/vnd vele scharē volkes volgeden ōm na van galilea vnde van decapoli vnd van hierusalem vnd van judea/vnnd van den enden des iordanes.

Dath. v. Capittel secht. xvo

Cristus de achte salicheyt vortellede/vñ dar na vele schoner lere/gebot vnd vorbot dede alse vā der glysener gerechticheyt van dōden/tome/epperunge/ebrock/vā affsnydinge der bosen geleder/ram eyde/van gedult/vnnd leyff hebbynghe der vyende.

VNd do iesus sach dat volk do gink he vp eynē hogen berch/ vnd do he was gan sytten/ syne iungerē naledē sick to ōm/vnd he dede vp synen munt vnd lerede se sprekende. Salich synt de armen yn dem geyste wēte dat ryke der hymmele ys ōr. Salich synt de sachtmōdigē/ wente ße werden besytten de erden. Salich synt de de dar wenen wente ße wordē getrōstet. Sallch synt de de dat hungerē vnd dorstē na der rechuerdicheyt/wēte ße werdē

PLATE VIII. Page from Halberstadt Bible
(British & Foreign Bible Society Copy)

version in German was hardly an unprecedented matter at the time of Emser (just as Luther's translation was certainly not the first German Bible ever in existence), the challenge before Emser, because of the implications of his task, surely must have been much greater than that in connection with any of the earlier Catholic versions.[2]

Now then, let us turn to Emser's New Testament of 1527. First of all, what can we say in regard to its format and content?

The publication is a folio edition with numbered leaves up to 196. In addition to the numbered leaves, there are also four preliminary leaves containing the following materials: a first title-page, blank on the verso; a five-page ducal authorization or foreword by Duke George; and a cut on the verso of the fourth leaf. Next comes the second title-page (or half-title page), from which the numbering for the text is reckoned. On the reverse side of this title-page a list of the books of the New Testament is provided. The recto of Leaf 2 contains Jerome's "Foreword to the Four Gospels" and the verso has another cut. This last cut is in reality a repetition of the one preceding the second title-page. The New Testament itself begins on Leaf 3 and ends on 195, recto. At the end of the work there is an Emserian subscript, beginning on Leaf 195, recto, and closing on 196, recto.

It is interesting to notice that as far as the text of Emser's version is concerned, Luther claimed (in some letters which we shall note in more detail shortly) that this was essentially his own version, the rendition being practically stolen word for word from him. Was Luther correct in this opinion? A careful comparison of Luther's translation with Emser's will certainly indicate that he was. Gustav Kawerau, after comparing sections of John 2, Romans 3 and Philippians 2 from both versions stated his decision on the matter as follows: "These examples show clearly his method; it is a revision of the Lutheran text after the Vulgate and according to Catholic interpretation of Scripture."[3] With this conclusion we would have to declare ourselves in basic agreement. In the Appendix we provide in parallel columns some sections from Matthew, Mark, Luke, John,

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2. Apparently the Jacob Beringer Catholic edition (Speier, 1526) did not serve the needs of the times. This edition, incidentally, was Luther's version with slight revision. See *BFBSC*, II, 488 (entry 4191).

3. Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

and Acts in both versions. These will reveal the closeness in the wording, and hence indicate the dependence of Emser on Luther. It may be noticed that in the Sermon on the Mount (Matthew 5 through 7) Emser has had somewhat more of a tendency to depart from his Lutheran source than is generally the case; but even there, with the possible exception of the Beatitudes, the similarities are still striking.

Now we may ask, Was Emser a purposeful plagiarist in the production of his New Testament? This is a difficult question to answer, but a few observations may be in order. In the first place, Emser most certainly did not mean to steal Luther's translation as such. That would have been ridiculous under the circumstances. Furthermore, he evidently did not covet the task of being a Bible translator. As we have seen, he desired the German bishops to take the responsibility for a new Catholic translation and for this purpose to appoint qualified men to undertake the project. Moreover, Emser may have felt himself lacking in the skills necessary for the work of Bible translation. And finally, he apparently never desired the new Catholic Bible to be a real translation anyway. He had, after all, indicated in his request to the bishops merely a work based on old and new translations.

With these considerations in mind, we should not be too surprised to find that Emser attempted no more than he did. It would have been ridiculous for him to undertake more than what he thought qualified men should accomplish. Of course, it appears that he really attempted less than he desired them to do, for he confined himself remarkably closely to one particular translation. This may only be an indication, however, of his recognition of lack of qualifications for the task. Or, since the one particular translation followed so closely was Martin Luther's, perhaps Emser had something else in mind: Perhaps it was his way of endeavoring to publicize the so-called flaws in his opponent's version—by following its text, but "correcting" it here and there in a Catholic sense. Also, the popularity of the Lutheran rendition may have provided Emser with incentive to adopt its style and general content wherever feasible.

Emser had, of course, severely criticized Luther's translation, as we have noted in Chapters II and III. We may now wonder what attitude the Reformer took toward Emser's version. The answer comes to us very clearly in two letters which Luther dispatched late in November of 1529 in an endeavor to hinder the printing of a Low-German edition of that version at Rostock.

The first letter, dated November 23, was addressed to Luther's own prince, the Elector John of Saxony. It requested help from John to get Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg to forbid the project. Some pious burghers from Lübeck, Luther said, had written him, fearful that by the activity of some "Lollbrothers" at Rostock in printing a Saxon translation of Emser's Testament many people of the place would be deceived and great harm done. For his own part, he could tolerate the text of Emser's Testament—the rogue had wickedly stolen it, for it was essentially Luther's own text—, but now it had been so knavishly poisoned with Emser's "glosses and annotations" that it could bear no fruit, but do only harm. Therefore, Luther requests the Elector to make intercession with Duke Henry.[4]

The second letter, dated November 27, and addressed directly to Duke Henry, covers essentially the same ground. It reiterates how from honest folk of Lübeck Luther had received word that "some Lollbrothers" were printing "Emser's Testament in the Saxon language of Rostock." These informants, it continues, were fearful that through this proceeding considerable damage might be done to pious souls. Luther could well permit the text, since it was almost entirely his own, stolen word for word from him. But, the "poisonous additions, glosses and annotations" might be dangerous. And therefore he requests the noble Duke to honor the gospel of Christ and rescue all souls as far as possible by not allowing the printing of this New Testament. For should the Duke permit the publication either through favor or forbearance the way might be opened for Satan to do untold damage.[5]

And thus we now find Emser's version caught in the crossfire of criticism, just as Luther's had been earlier from the other side. These two letters of Luther give somewhat of an indication of how strong the Reformer's feeling on the matter really was—sufficiently strong to cause him to endeavor to secure prohibition of the printing of a Low-German edition of the Emserian New Testament. These two letters also give the clue as to what Luther found objectionable in Emser's version; namely, the "poisonous" additions, glosses, and annotations.

The 1527 Emserian edition contains some fairly lengthy additions or glosses in the outer margins of the pages, alongside the text. On the inner margins of the pages there are also

4. This letter appears in *W.A.Br.*, V, 183, 184: #1497.

5. This letter appears in *W.A.Br.*, V, 187, 188: #1499.

notations, but these are as a rule, much shorter. These latter notations are generally merely Scriptural cross-references; but occasionally explanatory items such as the following occur: "'Jesus' is in German the same as a 'heylād' or 'seligmacher'" (in connection with Matthew 1:21) and "'Peter' is the same as a 'rock'" (in connection with Matthew 16:18). The inner page margins also contain letters of the alphabet as paragraph indicators.

The longer glosses on the outer margins of the pages are of much more interest to us, as representing the type of material which Luther must have had in mind as he penned his two afore-mentioned letters of 1529. But not all such glosses were "anti-Lutheran," of course, and some must have expressed views with which the Reformer could heartily agree. As examples of this more innocuous type of gloss we might notice the following:

Gloss to Matthew 1:8—This merely explains that Matthew leaves out some generations in the genealogy of Christ, giving the ancestors according to the law, whereas Luke gives the natural line; etc.

Gloss to Matthew 3:4—The "locusts" are explained as being of different form than "our locusts."

Gloss to Matthew 5:46—This defines the term "publicans."

Gloss to Matthew 6:13—This consists of a notation to the effect that in the Greek text the words "for thine is the kingdom and the power, and the glory forever, amen," follow the words "from evil." (It is interesting to find Emser making such a notation, for in his *Auss was gründ* he criticized Luther's version, as we have seen, for incorporating this very "addition.")

Gloss to Matthew 6:24—This explains "Mammon" as ill-won wealth, etc.

Gloss to Matthew 6:34—An explanation is here given of the phrase "its own evil," which appears in Christ's statement that each day has sufficient trouble for itself. "Its own evil," according to this gloss, refers to "daily need and work."

Euangelion Mathei. I. III.

A

Das buch der geburt Jesu Christi / des sons Dauids / des sons Abrahams.

Wiewol die nachgemalten alle/Christus vorvidern gewest/So wurt er doch hie aleyn genennt ein son Dauids vnd Abrahams / darumb das er disen zween sonderlich/ vnd mit geschwornem eide verheyschen ist / dem Dauid Psal. 131. Abraham Gene. 22.

B Mat. 3. I

Die erst gnad.

Abraham hat geboren Isaac/Isaac hat geboren Jacob. Jacob hat geboren Judam vnd seine brüder. Judas hat geboren Phares vñ Zarom vñ der Thamar. Phares hat geboren Esrom/Esrom hat geboren Aram. Aram hat geboren Aminadab. Aminadab hat geboren Naasson / Naasson hat geboren Salmon / Salmon hat geboren Boos vñ der Rahab. Bohon hat geboren Obed aus ß Ruth. Obed hat geboren Jessẽ. Jessẽ hat geboren Dauid den könig.

C Die an dern. crist

Dauid aber der könig/ hat geboren Salomon/aus deren die Vrie gewest ist. Salomon hat geboren Roboam. Roboam hat geboren Abiam. Abia hat geboren Asa. Asa hat geboren Josaphat. Josaphat hat geboren Joram. Joram hat geboren Osiam. Osias hat geboren Joatham. Joatham hat geboren Achas. Achas hat geboren Ezechiam. Ezechias hat geboren Manasses. Manasses hat geboren Amon. Amon hat geboren Josiam. Josias hat geboren Jechonlam vñ seine brüder in der Babylonischen gefencknis.

Sanct Matheus leszt etliche glid auszen/vil furet Christum geschicht nach dẽ gesetz. Aber sanct. Lucas furet es nach der natur vñ Nathan Salmons bruder / denn das gesetz nennet auch die kinder so von brudern / auff nachgelassenem weyb geborn sint Deut. 25.

D Die dritt zen. crist.

Vnd nach der Babylonischen gefencknis hat Jechonias geborn Salathiel. Salathiel hat geborn Zorobabel. Zorobabel hat geborn Abiud. Abiud hat geborn Eliachim. Eliachim hat geborn Azor. Azor hat geborn Sadoch. Sadoch hat geborn Achim. Achim hat geborn Eliud. Eliud hat geborn Eleazar. Eleazar hat geborn Mathan Mathan hat geborn Jacob. Jacob hat geborn Joseph den man Marie/vñ welcher geborn ist Jesus/der do genant wirt Christus.

E

Also sint der gepurten aller/von Abraham biß auff Dauid vierzehen gelide/vñ Dauid bis auff die Babylonischen gefencknis vierzehen gelide/von der Babylonischen gefencknis bis auff Christum vierzehen gelide. Aber die geburt Christi helt sich dermassen.

F Luce. 1. J

Als Maria die mutter Jesu dem Joseph vertrauwet war / Ehe dann sie zusamen kamen/ist sie befunden schwanger von dem heyligẽ geiste/ Joseph aber/ yhr man/nach dem er gerecht was/vñ sie nicht wolt berüchtigen/ gedacht er sie heimlich zuuerlassen. Do er aber solichs bey yhm gedachte/ sihe do erschine yhm der Engel des Herren im schlaff/ sprechende. Joseph du son Dauid/ forchte dich nicht/ zunehmen Mariam dein gemahel / Dann das/ so in yhr geboren/ist/von dem heyligen geiste. Vnd sie wirt geperen ein Son/ des namen solt du heissen Jesus / dann er wirt selig machen / seyn volgk von yhren sunden.

(zusamen komen) vorstehe mit ehelicher beywonung.

Berüchtigen Also laut das teutsch wortlin παραδειγματίσαι Aber im latein mag es aleyn dahin gezogen werden das heyst nit aleyn do ruchtigen sonder auch von einer stell zur andern furen / offt so einer seyn braut nehmet vnd beymsset/ Derhalben die alten verdeutschet haben Vnd wolt sie nit ehemen.

Luce. 2. c Jhesus ist auff teutsch so vil als ein heyland oder seligmacher.

Dis ist nhu alles geschehen/ damit erfült wurde/ das/ so gesagt

PLATE IX. Page Showing Beginning of Matthew in E-1527 (British Museum Copy)

Gloss to Matthew 8:9—This explains the significance of some words spoken by the centurion whose servant was ill, the implication of those words being that Christ was God and had all things—health and sickness, life and death—subject to Him.

The foregoing examples will suffice to illustrate the type of glosses which were undoubtedly rather innocuous from the Lutheran point of view. The following will serve to illustrate the kind to which Luther probably took rather violent exception:

Gloss to Matthew 3:2: "Notice this beginning of John's sermon, that we must of all things first do penance. And take heed for the heretics, who despise penance and confession."

Gloss to Matthew 3:9: "As the heretics now say, 'We have Christ for Lord,' meaning it is sufficient, nothing further needing to be done. Thus also the Jews boasted of Abraham. But John directs them from Abraham to penance and good works. For without these, neither does Abraham help them, nor Christ us."

Gloss to Matthew 4:6: "Here the devil leaves out a part of the Scripture, taking only what serves him, as his sons the heretics also do."

Gloss to Matthew 4:17: "Notice that even Jesus began his preaching with penance, and be wary of all who despise penance."

Gloss to Matthew 5:13 (deals with salt becoming "insipid"): "That is, where the learned individual becomes a heretic. By no one can he any more be salted or corrected, but is hardened and thrown out—that is, out of the Christian church, as Paul says, 'a heretic after the first or second admonition you shall shun.' "

Gloss to Matthew 5:16: "Here notice that good works are not to be despised, but are commanded by Christ." (This particular gloss is in itself not an especially biting one, but its intent was undoubtedly to counteract Luther's stress on faith. Hence it could well be classed as objectionable to the Reformer. In any event, it would undoubtedly have reminded Luther of such Emserian criticisms as were given in *Auss was gründ.)*

Gloss to Matthew 5:24: "Here notice that Christ has not abolished nor forbidden offerings, but has given the distinction, namely, that brotherly love and humility shall precede the offerings." (On the surface, this gloss would seem to lack the elements which would make it truly obnoxious to Luther. For deeper implications, however, compare the somewhat similar gloss to Matthew 6:16. And, again, the Reformer could hardly but have been reminded of Emserian remarks of the type presented in *Auss was gründ.)*

Gloss to Matthew 5:25 (deals with words "in prison"): "That is, in purgatory, according to the interpretation of the holy teachers. For in hell there is absolutely no redemption nor hope for release."

Gloss to Matthew 6:16: "Notice that Christ does not do away with nor despise fasting, as the heretics now do, but teaches how we should fast and that it is pleasing to God; thus also of prayer, alms and other good works, all of which God will reward and repay to us."

Gloss to Matthew 7:19, 20: "Every heretic is a bad tree, which brings no good fruit. Therefore nothing better can be done than to chop such off and throw them into the fire, if they will not give up their error."

Gloss to Matthew 7:21: "Notice that Christ has not done it sufficiently for us, but that each individual must also for himself do the will of God; and that it is, moreover, not enough that we only believe, but we must add works thereto as well."

Gloss to Matthew 8:13: "Notice that the heretics lie in saying that none can make request for another. For here the master makes request for his servant and is heard."

In addition to the anti-Lutheran character of numerous glosses, such as those noted above, other sources of discomfort and disturbance for the Reformer may well have been found in the ducal foreword or authorization to the Emserian New Testament. Duke George in this foreword gives his historical explanation of developments leading up to the printing of the Emserian version: The Augustinian monk, Martin Luther, has proceeded on a pathway which not only brings condemnation on

himself but on others and leads them away into his "godless sect." Not only the poor and foolish, but some great potentates and heads of the German nation have been prejudiced and misled with his hypocritical and heretical sermons and writings. Especially has this situation been brought about through his audacious translation of the entire New Testament, a translation in which he has departed from the ordering and content of the "Christian Church's approved text," made a border of "poisonous and heretical glosses," rejected some entire books, and chidingly censured the canonical writings of the holy apostles as "straw letters." Since this "perverse translation" was being published in many thousands of copies and was misleading many pious men, the Duke—with timely counsel and even "command and order" from "the Roman imperial majesty, Charles the fifth"—undertook to proscribe it. This was not prohibition of the true gospel and word of God, but only the works of Luther and the "other falsely named evangelical preachers."

The foregoing snatches and summarization from the first page or two of Duke George's foreword will indicate why this prologue must undoubtedly have seemed obnoxious from the Lutheran point of view.

As far as the main text is concerned, we should just make added note here that the sequence Emser chose for the Bible books was that of the Vulgate. Also of interest is the fact that the Emserian publication was adorned with many woodcuts, a large number of which were the same as those in Luther's September Bible.[6]

One further item deserves mention before we turn our attention to later editions of the Emserian New Testament, and that is a curious statement in Emser's subscript to the first edition of his New Testament: "I am not myself certain as yet whether it is good or evil to translate the Bible into German and lay it before the common, uneducated man. For the Scripture is a pool and fount in which many even of the highly learned drown. And he must stoop very low who would enter this door without bruising his head." Emser continues by giving counsel to care more about a "good, godly life than about the Scripture, which is commanded to the learned only." As Kawerau has aptly remarked in a reference to this strange notation, "A Bible translator who advises against reading the Bible!"[7]

6. Cf. *BFBSC*, II, 486, 488 (entries 4188 and 4191).

7. Kawerau, *op. cit.*, p. 71. It is also interesting to contrast Emser's counsel with that given in the introduction of the Cologne and Lübeck Low-German Bibles, mentioned earlier in the present chapter.

But apparently the Catholic people did not take seriously the counsel in Emser's subscript, for his New Testament went through a number of editions very soon after its first publication. Indeed, a letter of John Cochlaeus, Emser's successor at the court of Duke George, to Princess Margarethe indicates that a Cologne edition of 1529 was the fifth edition and had been printed in many more copies than had been the case with the first edition.[8]

To these later editions of the Emserian New Testament we must now turn our attention.

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8. Kawerau, *op. cit.*, pp. 71, 72, gives this letter which he found in the City Archives of Zerbst. It was until then unpublished.

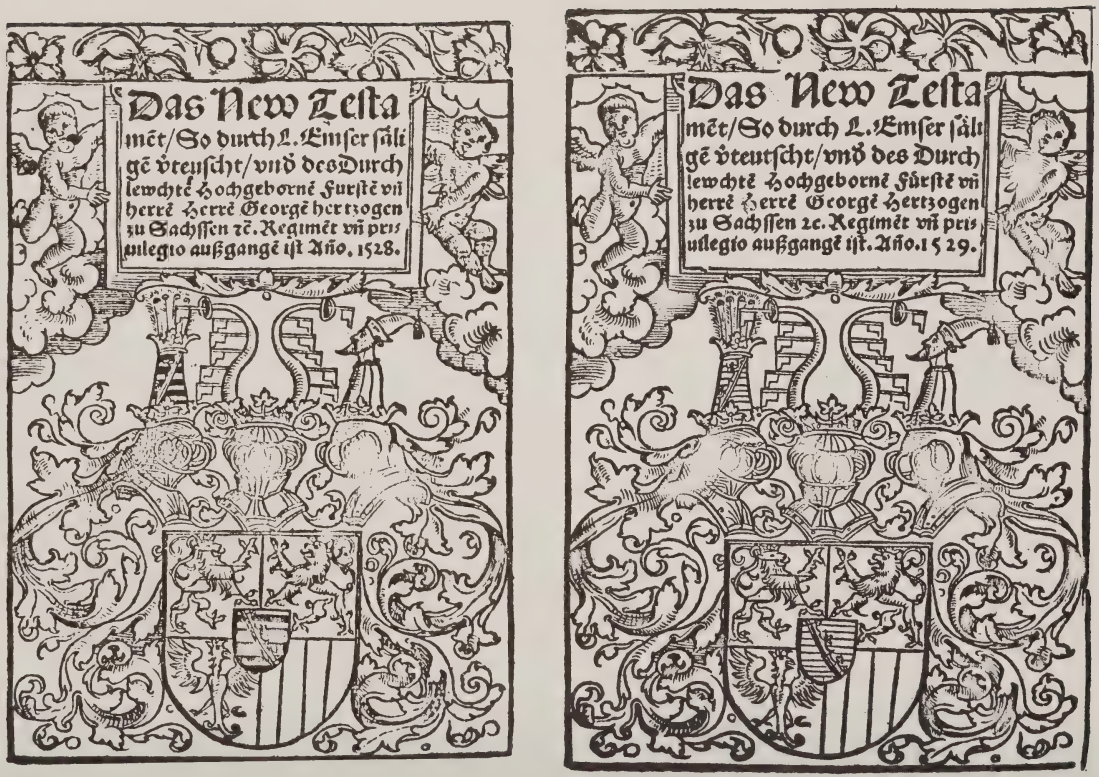
Das New Testa
mēt/So durch L. Emser sāli
gē vteutscht/vnd des Durch
lewchtē Hochgeborne Fürstē vñ
herrē Herrē Georgē Hertzogen
zu Sachssen ꝛc. Regimēt vñ pri-
uilegio außgangē ist. Año. 1528.
Das New Testa
mēt/So durch L. Emser sāli
gē vteutscht/vnd des Durch
lewchtē Hochgeborne Fürstē vñ
herrē Herrē Georgē Hertzogen
zu Sachssen ꝛc. Regimēt vñ pri-
uilegio außgangē ist. Año. 1529.

PLATE X. Title-pages of E-1528 and E-1529L
(British Museum Copies)

CHAPTER V

LATER HIGH-GERMAN EDITIONS OF EMSER'S NEW TESTAMENT

JEROME Emser died on November 8, 1527, as we have already noted. But, as we have also seen, his Bible translation did not die with him. A second edition appeared at Leipzig the very next year, and further editions appeared in rapid succession.

The 1528 Leipzig publication, printed by Valentine Schuman, was an octavo edition, with numbered leaves 1-252 for Matthew through Acts; and 1-208, recto, for Romans through Revelation. The verso of Leaf 208, both sides of three further numbered leaves and the recto of an additional unnumbered leaf are devoted to two subscripts and a list of corrections. The imprint also appears on the recto of the additional unnumbered leaf.

At the beginning of the work there are some twenty-five unnumbered preliminary leaves, as well, and the materials contained therein include several items not published in the 1527 edition: a general foreword to the work, a ducal authorization or "Privilege" of 1528, a list of differences to be found in some Lutheran Testaments, a Church-year register, and the "Emserian Epitaph." Samples from some of these materials are provided in facsimile reproduction in Plates XI and XII.

The general foreword, the first of the preliminary items to follow the title-page in the 1528 Emserian New Testament, takes the form, basically, of an annotated table of contents. To illustrate its material, we present the following brief excerpts:

> First, you find the foreword of the illustrious, noble prince and lord, Lord George, Duke of Saxony, Landgrave of Döringen and Margrave of Meissen, etc. It gives bedecking adornment to this book, affords authority and credence, and censures the entire contemporary heresy which hovers about. . . .
>
> Following, and in the second place, you will find the Privilege which the highly esteemed Prince . . . has graciously given anew to this printing.

Aus Luthers Testa-
ment/ Ersten druck

Eyner bessern/darumb
schemet sich. etce.
Welche haben die kö-
nickreych erobert
Des schwerts mund ent-
runnen
Zu zuchtigern gehabt/
solten wir
Das nicht dz lame auß
gestossen werdt

Aus der of-
Johannis.

Zeyst wermut/ vnd vil
menschen

Aus Luthers Test.
ment andern druck.

Eyner bessern nemlich
einer hymlischē darumb
Welche haben durch d
glawben die königreych
Des schwerdts scherff
entrunnen
Zuchtigern gehabt wir
sie gefurchet solten
das nicht das lame zu
gehe.

fenbarunge

Zeyst wermut/ vnd d
drytte teyl warth
mut/ vnd vil menschen

Register Vber dye Episteln vnd Euā gelien.

Epistel.			Euā.
Blat	xxñ.	Am 1. Sōtag des Aduēts	blat cxlvñ.
blat	xliij.	Am 2. Sontag des Aduents	xx
blat	xc	Am 3. Sontag des Aduents	cxxi
Ysaie	vij b	Mitwoch der Weychfasten	xcvñ
Jsaie	xi. a	Freytag der Weychfasten	xcx
blat	cxiij	Sonabent der Weychfasten	cxj
blat	xxxi	Am 4. Sontag des Aduents	cxj.
blat	i	Am Christ abent	ij
blat	cxxij	In der Christ meß	cl.
blat	cxxij	ij. Meß am Christag	cl
blat	cxxvi	iij. Meß am Christag	clv
blat	cxvij.	An sanct Stessans tag	xlvij
der zucht	xv a	An sant Johans tag	cxcvij.
blat	cxcij.	Am kindlein tagk	xij
blat	cxxix	An sant Thomas Bischoff	clxxvi
blat	lxxij	i. Sontag/ nach dem Christag.	cij
blat	cxix	An sant Silvesters tag	cxxvij
blat	cxxij	Am new Jars tag	cij
blat	lxxñ.	An der heylī. drey kōnig abent	tij
Ysaie	lx A	An der heyligē 3. König tag	ij
blat	xx	i. Sōtag nach d hey. 3. Kō. tag	cxij
Ysaie	lx A	An d heyli. drey König achten.	cxxi
blat	xx	2. Sōtag nach d hey. 3. Kō. tag	clvij
blat	xx	3. Sontag nach der König tagk	xij
blat	xxi.	4. Sontag nach der König tag	xxij.
blat	xcv	5. Sontag nach der König tag	xxvi

++++4. An des

PLATE XI. Closing Page of List of Differences and Beginning Page of Church-Year Register from E-1528 (British Museum Copy)

¶ Epitaphium Emſeri.

Quis iacet hic? Emſer, Chriſto ſacer, arma Lutheri
Qui intulit inuictus, fortis athleta dei.
Eccleſiæ partes multo certamine ſudans
Aſſeruit, Conſtans, Perutgil, Acer, erat.

Hieronymo Emſero, in tota artium Cyclopædia præclariſs. Preſpitero, ſacro ſancte Romanae Eccleſiae fideiq; Catolice (graſſante Lutheri, peſtilentiſsima haereſi) fidel. infracto, Hectoreq; propugnatori, Hieronymus Vualtherus totus gemebundus Monumentum hoc cõſecrauit. Porro extremum dien, Anno aetatis ſuæ Quinquageſimo, in Chriſto Ieſu clauſit, Carolo quinto Imperante, Pontifice Clemente ſeptimo, Rome capto, Deniq; longe omnium Chriſtianiſſimo Duce Georgio, Saxoniam, Miſniam, Thüringiã (quantũ ad ſuum Imperiũ attinet) Chriſtianiſsime gubernãte, Octauo Nouembris Anno a Chriſto nato. M.D.XXVII.

PLATE XII. "Emserian Epitaph" from E-1528
(British Museum Copy)

> In third place follows a table providing clear, comparative exposition and notice concerning how often and in what manner Luther made textual changes in his two Testaments, which he allowed to go out successively. . . .

Comment does, of course, generally extend considerably beyond what we have actually quoted. For example, nearly a page and a half are devoted to the mention of the 1527 ducal authorization and over half a page is devoted to discussion of the list of differences in two Lutheran editions. In the latter case, as also with respect to a Church-year register mentioned as the fourth item, detail is provided as to the method of presentation or arrangement of material in the tables given.

As indicated in the general foreword, the ducal introduction of 1527 appears next in the sequence of preliminary materials. This ducal introduction occupies some eleven pages in the 1528 edition, whereas it had required only about five of the larger pages of the 1527 edition. Next in order in the second edition is a full-page cut, after which the 1528 ducal "Privilege" appears. This "Privilege" or authorization is comparatively short, filling only two pages of the publication. In this authorizing statement, Duke George proceeds to indicate that all copies of the New Testament based on "the old approved text, doctors and teachers" have "now, praise God," been snatched up. Therefore, "we bring it about that the same New Testament is going to press a second time, with notable improvement and in a smaller and revised form." Then the Duke continues by giving an extended warning against the pirating or reprinting of this work.

The ducal "Privilege" is followed by the list of differences in two Lutheran Testaments. This list is fairly extensive, occupying some seventeen pages. Then come the seven-page Church-year register, the Emserian Epitaph, and Jerome's Introduction to the Gospels.

The page style in connection with the biblical text itself is also somewhat different in the 1528 edition from that of the 1527 edition. For one thing, the marginal glosses of the earlier edition have now, as a rule, been incorporated into the text itself. They are distinguished from Scripture, however, by the catch-word "Gloss" and by the use of italics. The inner margins of the pages are still characterized by paragraph indicators, but the scriptural cross-references have been transferred

en nicht dasselb auch die publicanen?

¶ Glos. (Publicanen) Das heyssen ym Euangelio alle die so gemeyne oder offen ampt odder hendel inhaben vnd die gemeynen man mit lugen vnd triegē vberſetzen vñ beſchweren wider billicheyt vnd mit ſunden. Wie dotzumal die tyrannen im geſchrey waren vnd itzo bey vns leyder ſchyer allen ampten vnd hendeln eynreyſt. Et hoc non ex proprietate vocabuli ſed ſecundum tropologiam vt Hieron. ait Matthæus. Et Auguſtinus ſermo. 59. de tempore.

Vnnd ſo yhr aleyne grüſſet ewre brüder/ was thut yhr weyter/ thuen nicht das auch die heyden? Darumb ſo ſolt yhr volkomen ſeyn/ wie ewer hymliſcher vatter auch volkomen iſt.

Das Sechst Capitel.

Summa

¶ Von auſſwendigen wercken als almuſen gepet vñ faſten dartzu wie man die ſorge der vorgenglichen guetter vñ allen vnd vormeyden ſol.

Ehet euch für / das yhr ewere rechtickeyt nit thuet vor den menſchen/ auff das yhr von yhnen geſehen/ Suſt werdet yhr keyn lon haben bey ewrem vater der im hymel iſt. Drumb ſo du almoſen gibeſt/ ſollt du nicht laſſen für dir poſaunen/ wie die heuchler thun in yhren ſchulen vnd auff den gaſſen/ auff das ſie vō den lewten gepreyſet wer dē/ warlich/ ſag ich euch/ ſie habē yhrē lohn ſchon eyngenomen. Du aber wen du almoſen gybeſt ſo laß deyne lincke hand nicht wiſſen/ was die rechte

rechte thut / auff das dein almoſen verborgen ſey/ Vnd dein vater/ der yn das verporgen ſihet/ wirt dirs vergelten.

Vnd ſo yhr betet/ ſolt yhr nicht ſein/ wie die heuchler / die da gern ſtehen vnnd beten yn den ſchulen/ vnd an den ecken der gaſſen / auff das ſie von den lewten geſehen werdē/ Warlich/ ſag ich euch/ ſie haben yhren lohn ſchon empfangen Du aber wen du beteſt/ ſo gehe in dein kemerlein/ vnd ſchleuſt die thür zu/ vnnd bete zu deynem vater verborgen/ vñ dein vater/ der in das verborgene ſihet/ wirt dirs vergelten.

Wenn yhr aber bettet/ ſolt yhr nicht vil geſwetz treyben/ wie die heyden/ denn ſie meynen ſie werden erhöret/ wen ſie vil wort machen/ darumb ſolt yhr euch yhn nicht gleychen / dañ ewer vatter weyſt/ was euch von nöten iſt/ ehe dañ yhr yhn bittet / darumb ſolt yhr alſo beten.

Vatter vnſer/ der du biſt in den hymeln/ geheyliget werd deyn name/ zukomme dein reych dein wille geſchehe/ als im hymel vnd auff erde. Vnſer vberſelbſtendige brot gib vnns hewth/

¶ Glos. Das iſt die vber ſellſtendig wirckung des brots. Dann die leyplich natur hat ein ſelbſtendig weſſen vñ kan doch on das natürlich ſelſtendig weſſen des brotts nit erhalten werden. Alſo auch get es zu mit der vber ſellſtē digen natur des leybes vnd des brots.

vnd vergib vns vnſere ſchulde/ als wir vergebē vnſern ſchuldigern/ vnd nicht für vns yn verſuchung/ ſunder erlöſe vns von dem vbel/ Amen.

¶ Glos (Von dem vbel) Im kriechiſchen text volget Dann

Luc. 11. A
Dz vñ
ter vn.
Lutter
Vnſer te.
laſſet auſſen
der du biſt.
daglichbrot
dañ deyn iſt
dz reich.
Anno. 11 A.
vnd. D
mar. 11. d

PLATE XIII. Pages from Biblical Text of E-1528 (British Museum Copy)

to the outer margins. Moreover, in this 1528 edition the outer margins contain a considerable number of two new kinds of notes; namely, references to the Church year and references to Luther's rendition of certain disputed points. In connection with the latter type of notation, indication is also given as to where in Emser's *Annotationes* the reader may look for further discussion of the particular matter in question.

One further change in page style deserves mention here: the introduction in the 1528 Leipzig edition of chapter summaries at the head of the various Bible chapters. The 1527 Dresden edition did not have such summaries. The content of the summaries is certainly not far different from what we might expect to find in a modern English Bible, as the following few examples will illustrate:

Matthew 1—"On Christ's ancestry and how the angel removed Joseph's suspicion concerning the virgin."

Matthew 3—"On the life, baptism and preaching of John; also how the baptized Christ was praised by God."

Mark 1—"John preaches and baptizes; the baptized Christ preaches and is tempted, calls the disciples, throws out the evil spirit, and heals the mother-in-law of Peter."

John 1—"That Christ was with the Father from the beginning; how John was questioned by the Jews concerning who he was; and what testimony he gave to Christ and how he depreciated himself; also how Christ called Andrew, Simon, Philip, and Nathanael."

Acts 1—"What Christ, as He ascended to Heaven, commanded His apostles, and how the two dressed in white clothing spoke to the apostles; the same apostles also chose Matthias as an apostle."

The chapter summaries, like the glosses, are italicized.

Except for the innovations we have mentioned, the text of the 1528 edition is quite similar to that of the 1527 edition. There are, of course, some changes, and especially some minor linguistic differences. But then, we must bear in mind that in that day and age the German language was hardly used consistently in print. Minor variations in spelling and abbreviation

might, for example, occur repeatedly even on the very same page of a publication.

At the end of this 1528 Leipzig edition, the Emserian subscript is republished. And in it is retained the same curious remark about the questionable advisability of Bible reading on the part of the common man (see above, p. 72). There is, however, in this second edition an additional—and shorter—subscript as well. This calls attention, first of all, to Emser's service in providing his translation of the Scriptures. "Christian reader," it begins, "now you have the work that the late Emser remarkably undertook when he was aged and weakened by toil and lacked strength of body. . . . Now it is again renewed, corrected, purified and enlarged with some profitable and necessary aids." Discussion then follows in regard to the revision of wording. Since harsh terms, "much used by Luther in his New Testament," have "at times" been carried over by Emser—"perhaps because of overburdening of work or troublesomeness of his infirmity"—, some expressions have been changed to "more modest words and at times paraphrased." Nevertheless, Emser is defended. His attitude is that of "a sound and obedient" servant of the Church.

Whatever changes may have been incorporated in the second edition of Emser's New Testament as far as either the text itself or the wording of the glosses is concerned, such revision really seems quite negligible. The second edition was hardly mollified, regardless of any claims to the contrary. And from Luther's point of view, the second edition must, in fact, have seemed rather worse than the first. After all, there were in the 1528 publication additional anti-Lutheran items both in the preliminary materials and in the margins alongside the biblical text. Moreover, the interspersing of the glosses with the text of Scripture may not have been exactly pleasing to Luther either.

In the following year, 1529, Valentine Schuman published a further edition of the Emserian New Testament at Leipzig. This publication resembles closely the 1528 edition both in page style and in content. There are, of course, minor differences, such as the appearance of certain new items in the marginal notations. But perhaps most noticeable is the fact that the chapter summaries and glosses are not italicized as in the earlier Schuman edition. They are, however, distinguished from the biblical text by being printed in smaller type, although this distinction is not so readily noticed by a casual glance as would have been the continued use of italics.

Luce I LXXXIX

Vorred S. Lucas zu Theophilo.

Syntemal sich vil vn derwunden haben zu stellen die rede vonn den geschichten/so vnder vns ergangen sind/ wie vns das angegeben haben die so es von anbegyn selber gesehen / vñ diener des worts gewesen sind. Hab ichs für gut angesehen / das auch ich (der ich alle ding erkundet hab) dir solchs von anfang ordenlich vnd fleyssig beschreybe meyn frommer Theophile/auff das du erfahrest die warheyt der wort/ wölcher du vnderichtet bist.

Das Erst Capitel.

¶ Summa D Von zacharia vnd Elizabet wie sie Johañe geboren/vnnd wie der Engel Marie den grus gebracht/Auch was lobgesangk der zacharias/des gleychē wie Maria nach dem sie Christum empfangē/Was Magnificat gemacht hat.

Euan. Am abent Johannis des teufers

IN Z Y der zeyt Herodis / des Königes Judee/war eyn Priester an stadt Abia/mit namen Zacharias/vnd seyn weyb von den töchtern Aaron deren nham war Elizabeth/vnnd sie waren / alle beyde gerecht für Gott / vnnd wanderten in allen gepoten vnd satzungen des Herrn vntadlich / vnnd sie hatten keyn kindt / den Elizabeth war vnfruchtbar / vnd waren alle beyde wol betaget.

¶ Mos. (an stad Abia) Wider Abia ward durch das los/so Dauid vnd Salomon geordent hetten/vnder zeyt. In die achten ordnung erwelt/ deren die do solten ertzogen in die hertig stat des tēpels Gottes) Para. xxiiij

M Vnnd

Das gantz Nerv Testament: So durch den
Hochgelerten L. Hieronymum Emſer vertütſcht / mitt ſampt ſeinen zügefügten Summarien vnd Annotationen vber yegliche capitel angezeigt / wie Martinus Luther dem rechten Text (dem Nuſchiſchen exemplar nach) ſeins gefallens / ab vnd tzügethan / vnd verendert hab / Wie dan durch bitte etzlicher Fürſten vnd Herren geſchehen / das er wöl dem gemeynen volck tzů nütz / das war vnd recht Euangelion / am truck auß geen laſſen.

♣ ♣ ♣

Item ein new Regiſter verordent vnd gemacht / vorſtetlicher dan vor geweſt.

Auch dem käuffer vnnd gemeynen man tzů gütt ſindt hynden an getrücket / die Epiſteln auß dem alten Teſtament / die man in der Chriſtlichen Kirchen durchs Jar helt / wölche dann der Emſer in ſeyner Tranſlation nicht bey geſetzt hat / da mit nicht eym yeglichen not ſey eyn gantze Bybel tzů kauffen.

Anno M. CCCCC. XXIX. Am. XXIII. tag des Augſtmonds.

PLATE XV. Title-page of E-1529C
(British Museum Copy)

Das New Teſtament/ So
durch den hochgelerten Hieronymum
Emſer ſeligen verteutſcht/ vnder dem
Durchleuchten hochgebornen Für-
ſten vnd herrn Herren Geor-
gen Hertzogen zů Sach-
ſen ꝛc. außgan-
gen iſt.

M. D. XXIX.

Das Neu Teſtament
ſo durch den hochgelerten Hierony-
mum Emſer ſeligen vertewſcht/ vnder des
Durchleuchten/ Hochgebornen Fürſtenn
vnd Herrn/ Herrn Georgen Hertzogen
zů Sachſſen. ꝛc. Regiment auß-
gegangen iſt.

Im jar M. D. XXIX.

PLATE XVI. Title-pages of E-1529A and E-1529F
Left: E-1529A (British Museum Copy). Right: E-1529F (U. of Chicago Library Copy)

Among other High-German editions of the Emserian New Testament which appeared in 1529 were those published by H. Fuchs in Cologne, by J. Faber in Freiburg in Breisgau, and by A. Weissenhorn in Augsburg. These later Emserian High-German versions were patterned quite largely after the earlier editions, but some interesting changes were made. For example, the Freiburg edition has its glosses neither in the margins nor interspersed with the biblical text but in an appendix at the end of the work. And the Cologne edition, on the other hand, not only has its glosses interspersed with the biblical text, as do the Leipzig editions, but also includes other additions called "annotations" at the close of the various Bible chapters. These are frequently quite lengthy, being relevant excerpts from Emser's critique in its revised form, the *Annotationes*. The type of material contained therein has already been discussed in Chapter III, in our treatment of *Auss was gründ*, but we provide here, in further illustration of such material, the major portion of the "annotations" to Matthew 6 and 7 from this particular Cologne edition of the Emserian New Testament. (For the original German of the "annotation" to Matthew 6, see Plate XVII, where the page of the Cologne edition showing that annotation is reproduced in facsimile.)

Annotation to Matthew 6: "In the sixth chapter Luther changes the daily prayer, the 'Lord's Prayer,' in three or four places. First of all, he completely reverses the first two words, and translates them, not as they appear in the Gospel and as we Germans have prayed them for over a thousand years—'Vatter vnser'—, but 'vnser vatter.' Thus he alone transposes all things. In the second place, he omits entirely the words, 'Thou who art,' which, however, the Greek and Latin texts include alike. In the third place, he also changes the words 'panem super substantialem in quotidianum,' which Luke, and not Matthew, has given. In the fourth place, he adds a clause at the end, which our text does not have and which in practice has never been used by us; namely, 'For thine is the kingdom, the power and the holiness [heyligkeit] forever, amen.' But where here remains the statement of Moses in Deuteronomy 4—namely, that nothing is to be added to nor subtracted from the word of God—, which statement he [Luther] so frequently rubs into the ears of the papists? Indeed, he himself has thus in so short a saying often twisted, abbreviated, added to and subtracted from the words of Christ."

verbo:gen jſt/vnd dein vatter/ſ̃do jn dz verbo:gen ſihet/wirt dirs vergelt.

F yhr ſolt euch nicht ſchetze ſamlen auff erden/da ſie der roſt vnnd die motten Luc.12.8
freſſen/vnd da die diebe nach graben vnd ſtelen. Samlet euch aber ſchetze jm
hymmel da ſie weder roſt noch motten freſſen/vnd da die diebe nicht nach gra;
ben noch ſtelen/deñ wo dein ſchatz da jſt auch dein hertz.

G Das liecht deines leybes jſt dein auge/weñ nhu dein auge ein feltig jſt/ſo wirt Luc.11
dein gantzer leyb liecht ſein weñ aber dein auge ein ſchalck jſt/ſo wirt dein gan;
tzer leyb finſter ſein. Wo nu das liecht/dz jn dir jſt/finſternis jſt/ wie groß wirt
den die finſternis an jhr ſelber ſein.

Gloſſ [Dein auge] Das jſt dein ſin/tz vnd meynunge.
[Ein ſchalck jſt] Das jſt/ſo dn es gut fur gibſt vnd es doch felſchlich meyneſt.

H Niemand kan tzweyen herren dienen/daß entweder/wirt er einen haſſen/vnd
den andern lieben/oder wirt einen vergut halten/vñ den andñ verachtenn/yhr
mögt nicht Got dienen vnd dem Mammon. Luc.16.13

Gloſſ Mammon) Dis wort bedeut böſs gewonnen gut/vnnd teychthumb die man mit vnrecht er;
wirbt oder beſitzt/Sunſt jſt teychthumb Got nicht entgegen.

Darumb ſag jch euch/ſorget nicht für ewer leben was jhr eſſen werdet/auch ni
cht für ewren leyb/was jhr anziehen werdet/ Jſt nicht das leben mehr dan die
ſpeyſe vnd der leyb mehr dan die Kleydung: Sehet an die vögel der lufft/dann Luc.12.6
ſie nicht ſeen noch mehen ſie ſamlen auch nicht jn die ſchwern vnd ewer hymli;
ſcher vatter neeret ſie. Sind jhr den nicht vil mehr dan ſie? Wer jſt doch vnter
euch der mit ſein gedancken ſeiner lenge ein elle tzuſetzen möge.

J Vnd warumb ſorget jhr für die Kleydung: Schawet an die lilien auff dē feld
wie ſie wachſſen: Sie erbeyten nicht/ſie ſpinnen auch nicht. Noch ſag jch euch/
das auch Salomon jn aller ſeiner herlickeyt/nicht bekleidt geweſen jſt/als der
ſelbigen eins. So dan Got das graß auff dem feld alſo Kleydet/das doch heut;
te ſtehet vnd morgen jn den ofen gewo:ffen wirt. Wie vilmehr wirt er das euch
thun jhr Klein glewbigen.

K Darumb ſolt jhr nicht ſorgfeltig ſein/vnd ſagen/was werden wir eſſen/oder
was werden wir trincken/oder wo mit werden wir vns Kleyden: Dan nach diß
ſem allen trachten die heydē. Aber ewer hymliſcher vatter weyß das jhr des al;
les bedürffet. Derhalben ſo ſuchet am erſten das reych Gottes/vnd ſein gerech
tigkeit/ſo werden euch dieſe ding alle tzugewant.

L Darumb ſorget nit für den andern morgē deñ der morgene tag/wirt für ſich
ſelber ſorgen. Es jſt gnug das ein jtzlicher tag ſein eygen vbel hab.

Gloſſ Sein eygen vbel) Das jſt teglich not vnd arbeit: quelibet enim dies vt quidam ait, noua ad
fert moleſtiam.

Anno. Jndem ſechſten capittel/vorkert Luther das teglich gebet vnd Vatter vnſer an drey oder Anno.
vier ſtellen/dan erſtlich kert er die erſten zwey wort gleych vmb/vnd vordolmeſcht ſie ni
cht wie jm Euangelion ſtehet vnd wir Teutſchen lenger dan tawſent jar gebetet haben/Vatter vns
ſer ſonder vnſer vatter/da mit er allein allen dingen das hynder herfur kere. Jnn anēn laſt er die wort
(der du biſt) gar auß/welche doch der Krieschen vnd Lateiniſch text gleych lawten alſo mit dingen.
Jnn dritten vorwandelt er auch das wortlin panem ſuper ſubſtantialem in quotidianum/das Lucas
vnd nicht Matthaeus geſetzt hat. Jnn vierden thut er ein clauſel am end hinzu die vnſer text nicht hat
vnd bey vns nie in vbung geweſt jſt/nemlich dan dein jſt das reych/die krafft/vnd die herligkeit jn es
wigkeit/Amen. Wo hierbi aber die der ſpruch Moyſi Deut. 4; Nemlich das man dē wort Gottes nis
chtzu/noch abthon ſol/da mit er den Papiſten ſo offt die eren reibt/ſo er doch die wort Chriſti ju ey
nes ſo kurtzen red/ſelber ſo offt verkert/verkurtzt/tzu vnd abgethan hat.

Das .vij. Capittel. ♣Summa.♣

Wie man nicht freuelich vrteylen/vnd wie man betthen ſoll/von den weyſen vnd engen pfaffen/fal Lu.6 1.Tim.4.6
ſchen propheten/vnd gleyſſnern/vnd dem Kingen bawmeiſter. Lu.6.5

A Jr ſolt nicht richten/ſo werdet jhr auch nicht gerichtet. [yhr ſolt ni Luther
cht verdāmē/ſo werdet jhr auch nicht verdāmet/Jden mit welcher laſſet auffen
ley vrteil jhr richtet/werdet jhr gericht werden/vnnd mit waßerley ſolmacht
matz jhr meſſet/wirt euch gemeſſen werden/ Was ſiheſt du aber an men ſo wens
ſtöpfflin jn deins brūders auge/vnd wirſt nicht gewar des balcken jn dein

PLATE XVII. Page Showing an "Annotation" from E-1529C (British Museum Copy)

Annotation to Matthew 7: "At the beginning of this seventh chapter where it is written 'Judge not that you be not judged,' there follows immediately in our text, 'Condemn not that you be not condemned,' which words Luther has also in his translation skipped over and left within his pen, perhaps because he alone wishes to condemn everyone and does not wish to be condemned in return by anyone.

"In the gloss concerning the word 'do' Luther makes four lies with one stroke. The first is that he says here Christ also demands faith. For Christ in this statement—namely, 'Not everyone who says Lord, Lord, but he who does the will of my Father,' etc.—directs us, not to faith, but to works. . . .

"The second lie is that he says all good works without faith are sin. For no one says that Trajan sinned by loving and exercising justice. Moreover, if it had been sin when Aristotle or the heathen poets taught or wrote what was profitable, Paul would not have quoted them in his epistles. Also, Jethro did not sin by giving good counsel to Moses, nor did Achior by giving good counsel to Holophernes. Thus it is false that all good works without faith are sin. But it is true that without faith they are not efficacious to eternal salvation. . . .

"The third lie is that he says where there is faith, good works must follow. For, as shown above in the Foreword, and as Paul testifies in I Corinthians 13, there can well be faith without actual love or works.

"The fourth lie Luther attaches at the end by saying that good works without faith are the foolish virgins' lamps without oil. For the oil does not signify faith but the spirit of love and devotion which we must have in our works. . . . That the foolish virgins also had faith and believed on Christ appears from the fact that all ten—the five wise and the five foolish—were compared to the kingdom of heaven, namely, the Christian church, as Gregory and the other holy fathers have unanimously interpreted this parable."

When Luther wrote the two letters of November 1529 (the general content of which we have already noticed in Chapter IV), it may very well be that he had in mind this 1529 Cologne edition of the Emserian New Testament. He mentioned, as we will remember, the "poisonous additions, glosses and annotations." Perhaps the expression "annotations" was used only in a general sense. But it does seem quite likely, on the other hand, that it may have been used as a specific designation for

the lengthy notes so captioned in the Cologne edition. In any event, these "annotations" of the Cologne edition could not but have made the Emserian New Testament seem all the more objectionable to the Reformer.

The appearance in 1528 and 1529 of various High-German editions of the Emserian New Testament in different regions of the German lands provides indication as to the rather widespread demand already obtaining for that version. Thus we may reasonably conclude that the Emserian New Testament was indeed popular, even though it did not, of course, obtain the phenomenal acceptance enjoyed by Luther's translation.

CHAPTER VI

THE CONDEMNED ROSTOCK NEW TESTAMENT

SUCCESSFUL as may have been the earliest publishing ventures with the Emserian New Testament in High German, a far different tale must be told concerning the first endeavor to publish this New Testament in Low German.[1] The enterprise was undertaken in the north-German city of Rostock, probably sometime during the year 1529. The publishers were the Brethren of the Common Life of that city, known variously as the "Brethren of the House at the Green Garden" and the "Brethren of St. Michael." These Rostock Brethren were a part of that larger movement known as the *Devotio Moderna*, a movement founded in the late fourteenth century by Gerard Groote of Deventer in the Netherlands. The Rostock house itself was established in 1462, and a printing press instituted there about 1475.[2]

We have already, in Chapter IV, discussed the content of Luther's letters of November 23 and 27, 1529, to the Elector John of Saxony and to Duke Henry V of Mecklenburg. These letters, as we have seen, revealed the basis for the Reformer's

1. The account here will be brief. For further information concerning this Low-German edition, its publishers, its sources, etc., see the present writer's *A Reformation Paradox: The Condemned New Testament of the Rostock Brethren of the Common Life* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Publishers, 1960).

2. The first comprehensive treatment in English of the *Devotio Moderna* is that of Albert Hyma, *The Christian Renaissance: A History of the Devotio Moderna* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: The Reformed Press, 1924). See also his *The Brethren of the Common Life* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 1950); and R. R. Post, *De Moderne Devotie* (Amsterdam: Van Kampen & Zoon, 1950). For information on the Brethren at Rostock, see William M. Landeen, "The *Devotio Moderna* in Germany (Part IV)," in *RSSCW*, XXII (1954), pp. 57-71; and Ludwig Schulze, "Brüder des gemeinsamen Lebens," in *RPTK*, 3rd ed., III (1897), 495-497. For recent information on the printing activities of the Rostock Brethren, see Carl Meltz, "Die Drucke der Michaelisbrüder zu Rostock 1476 bis 1530," in *WZUR*, V (1955-56), pp. 229-262. For a recent brief notation concerning the Brotherhood in general, see R. Haass, "Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben" in *LTK*, II (1958), 722-723. Also of interest for information on the Brotherhood in Germany are Landeen's work published in *RSSCW*, XIX (1951), 162-202, 221-253; XXI (1953), 275-309; XXII (1954), 57-75; and a dissertation by B. Windeck, *Die Anfänge der Brüder vom gemeinsamen Leben in Deutschland* (Bonn, 1951).

PLATE XVIII. Title-page of R
(University of Chicago Library Copy)

objection to the Emserian New Testament. But their primary purpose was, of course, to bring to naught the Rostock Brethren's project to publish that New Testament in Low-German translation. Luther called attention in this correspondence, we will remember, to news he had received concerning the printing of a Saxon translation of Emser's Testament by some "Loll-brothers" at Rostock. And his request of Duke Henry was that the Duke might honor the Gospel of Christ and rescue all souls as far as possible by not permitting the continuation of that enterprise.

The Reformer's action may seem a bit strange in view of the fact that he not only championed the Bible in the vernacular, but also seemed generally quite well disposed toward the Brethren of the Common Life. As a youth he had, in fact, spent a year of study with the Magdeburg Brethren of the Common Life, in 1497-98. And when in 1532, the Brethren at Herford were having difficulties with the Protestantly inclined council of their city, he wrote a letter of defense for them, stating that their "monasteries and brethren-houses" pleased him "beyond measure."[3] At another time, while he was lecturing at the University of Wittenberg on the Book of Romans in 1515-16, he claimed that one of the Brethren's important spiritual works, "Blessed is the man," was the clearest exposition he had seen on the subject of original sin.[4]

Why then, should he oppose the Rostock Fratres? Obviously, his dislike for the Emserian New Testament must have overbalanced any friendliness he had toward the Brethren of the Common Life. And thus he launched his attack on the Rostock Brethren's publishing venture.

Luther's letter to Duke Henry reached its destination by December 18, and the Duke, in turn, addressed on that date a communication of his own to the Rostock city council. In his letter, Duke Henry mentions having received report from reliable places that the Brethren of St. Michael have a New Testament at press. This, though of itself not capable of doing much harm, contains various glosses, annotations and many additions, which not only would bring no profitable fruitage, but might

3. *W.A.Br.*, VI, 255. The letter, numbered 1900, is dated January 31.

4. The statement is presented with context in English translation by Albert Hyma, *Luther's Theological Development from Erfurt to Augsburg* (New York: Crofts, 1928), pp. 25, 26.

result in ruinous damage. Thus, to "us . . . as authorities" it is objectionable and not allowable. And therefore the Duke desires that the council will earnestly bring about cessation of the Brethren's printing venture and recall any copies of the said New Testament which may already have been circulated.[5]

At this time Dr. John Oldendorp, a man highly favorable to the Reformation, was syndic of Rostock. Moreover, he exercised a profound influence on the city council, which was itself rather Protestantly inclined at this time.[6] It was almost a matter of course, then, that Duke Henry's request would receive immediate and favorable attention. The Rostock Brethren suddenly found themselves forbidden by the council to proceed further in their plans for a Low-German edition of the Emserian New Testament.

But these Fratres of St. Michael did not give up their undertaking without a struggle. The rector of their house, Martin Hilleman, sent the printer John Holt to Duke Albert VII, co-ruler of Mecklenburg. The purpose of this trip was, apparently, to secure help from Albert to get the restraining order rescinded. But any hopes the Brethren may have had along this line seem to have been doomed to disappointment, for Henry's restraining order continued to remain operative.

Holt's trip was not entirely in vain, however. Apparently his stay at the court of Albert bolstered his courage by furnishing him with some information concerning a thrust planned against Oldendorp. And in this connection it is interesting to notice that some time later, on October 7, 1533, Duke Albert himself went so far as to order the city council of Rostock to arrest Oldendorp as an insurrectionist.[7] But this later event and the confusion which must have arisen in connection with it did not come in time to be of help to the Rostock Brethren.

Holt, upon his return home from the court of Albert, proceeded with the publication of the Low-German Emserian New Testament. Apparently the Brethren had decided to publish

5. The Duke's letter has been printed in Friedrich Jenssen, *Emsers Neues Testament in niederdeutscher Übertragung* (Schwerin i. Mecklbg.: Emil Köhn, 1933), pp. 6, 7. Jenssen found the original in the Rostock Stadt-Archiv.

6. For material on the penetration of the Reformation into Rostock, see Axel Vorberg, "Die Einführung der Reformation in Rostock." *SVRG*, No. 58 (Halle, 1897).

7. See *ibid.*, p. 53.

this work—restraining order or not! But their activities could not long be kept secret. And when the city council learned of the Brethren's non-compliance with its ruling, Holt was imprisoned and Hilleman placed under confinement in the Brethren house. Release for these two men was secured only by their sworn statement never again to do anything contrary to the wishes of the city council.[8] And thus ended the plan for a Low-German translation of Emser's Testament. The time of this final interruption was undoubtedly in the earlier part of the year 1532, for the sworn statement by Hilleman and Holt was dated on June 28 of that year.[9]

Apparently the Rostock Brethren had not had opportunity to carry their work any further than the Book of Acts. And whatever copies of even this abbreviated New Testament got into circulation seem to have been confiscated and destroyed, as far as this was possible. Today only one complete copy is known: a bound volume in the State Library of Württemberg in Stuttgart, Germany. There are said to be two nearly complete copies of the work at Rostock itself and at Schwerin.[10] The only other fairly complete copy known—a compilation gathered from various bindings by Wilhelm Walther—is at the Harper Library of the University of Chicago. In addition to these four copies just mentioned, some fragments are extant at various places.[11]

The Rostock New Testament was indeed an Emserian edition, as its title-page indicates *(The New Testament As Translated into German by the Highly Learned Late Jerome Emser)*, and as a comparison of its text with that of the Emserian High-German editions will verify. But the Rostock Brethren by no means restricted themselves to an Emserian prototype. They used other German versions as well. And an amazing fact is

8. The document in which they made their declaration is produced in full by Jenssen, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-10. Jenssen found the original in the Rostock Stadt-Archiv.

9. The date "1530" appears on the title-page of the Rostock New Testament itself. But this undoubtedly represents the date for the woodcut used rather than the year when the printing was completed, as has been indicated by Otto Leuze, "Ein doppelt denkwürdiges Neues Testament in der Bibelsammlung der Württembergischen Landesbibliothek in Stuttgart," in *BBSAW*, No. 2 (1926), p. 33.

10. See Meltz, *op. cit.*, p. 247; and *NB*, I, col. 473: entry 1059.

11. See esp. *NB*, I, col. 473: entry 1059; Meltz, *op. cit.*, p. 247; and Ernst Weissbrodt, *Das niederdeutsche Neue Testament nach Emsers Übersetzung Rostock 1530* (Bonn: A. Marcus & E. Weber, 1912), p. 2.

that among those German versions was a Low-German edition of Luther's own translation.[12] Indeed, they made surprisingly free use of this Lutheran edition, revising their Catholic source in numerous places by preferring Lutheran readings to Emserian ones. Is it not a strange paradox indeed that the one vernacular New Testament which Luther so successfully brought to destruction should have been that very one among the Emserian editions which revised the Emserian translation by rather extensive use of Luther's own version! The Reformer was not aware, of course, of these precise circumstances when he issued his fateful letters in late November of 1529.

We must not, however, think that the Rostock New Testament was a Lutheran version. It was far from that. Though it did rather freely incorporate Lutheran readings, its text was still basically Emserian—especially in the disputed points called to attention by Emser in his *Auss was gründ* and *Annotationes*. The lengthy "annotations" of the 1529 Cologne edition were not adopted, but marginal notation as to Lutheran readings and the place in *Annotationes* where Emser had attacked such readings was presented in the style of the Leipzig editions. Perhaps even more significant to notice is the fact that the glosses so obnoxious to Luther were retained. There can be little doubt but that the Rostock Brethren intended their translation to be a Catholic version.

Nevertheless, as we look at those Brethren, we can still say at least this—and say it with sincere admiration—, that they were not so bigoted as blindly and resolutely to refuse to look upon materials produced by the Reformation party. They were open-minded enough to select and use what they felt was good, even though it had been produced by forces hostile to the faith which they themselves represented. That they went no further than they did is not surprising in view of their Catholic background and their continuing Catholic confession.

In any event, their procedure in using a Lutheran version seems to have been quite different from that of Emser himself when he based his translation on Luther's work. Emser's task, as we have seen, was that of providing a new Catholic Bible translation; and he may have felt some necessity to use Luther's version in order to secure a popular rendition. But the Brethren already had a rather popular Catholic translation—Emser's,

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12. See Jenssen, *op. cit.*, esp. pp. 46-54; and Strand, *op. cit.*, pp. 39-43. See also my forthcoming article in *ARG* on this subject.

which they expressly declared to be their source. Moreover, what Emser seems to have been doing, as we noted earlier, was to "correct" the existing Lutheran text according to the Vulgate and Catholic interpretation. On the other hand, what the Brethren seem to have been doing was precisely the opposite: they were "correcting" the now-existent and quite popular Catholic translation by reference to Luther's version! This is an unusual situation indeed.

IN CONCLUSION

THE German Bible had early beginnings. Numerous manuscripts were produced during the Middle Ages, and there were also some eighteen printed editions of the complete German Bible before the first appearance of Luther's New Testament in September, 1522. But with Luther, a new era for the German Bible began. It was an era which ushered in a truly widespread dissemination of the Scriptures among the German people. It was an era significant for the stabilization of the German language through the medium of the German Bible. It was also an era of severe religious conflict, an era in which the German Bible itself became ensnared, entangled, and entrenched in the theological crossfire.

When Luther's version of the New Testament first appeared, it quickly gained phenomenal popularity. The strongly Catholic prince Duke George of Albertine Saxony became alarmed at the inroads this version was making in his lands. Hence he forbade its purchase and sale and commissioned Jerome Emser to prepare a critique of it. Emser, who had by this time already entered into a violent literary feud with Luther, published the first edition of his critique in 1523 under the title of *Auss was gründ* . . . and issued a revised edition the following year under the title of *Annotationes Hieronymi Emser*. . . . This Emserian critique roundly denounced Luther's rendition and took it to task in many places. It also criticized the Lutheran glosses and Luther's theology in general.

The next major step in the Catholic attack on Luther's version came in 1527, with the preparation and publication of a rival New Testament. This also was the work of Jerome Emser. It appeared in a number of High-German editions within the first two years after its original publication. Luther was much displeased with it because of its "poisonous" additions, glosses, and annotations.

Though the early High-German editions of the Emserian New Testament seem to have fared rather well, a Low-German edition which went to press at Rostock about 1529 became the object for real trouble. Through some correspondence by Luther in late November, 1529, a chain of events was initiated which

saw the printing of this Rostock Low-German New Testament stopped and even the copies of its abbreviated form confiscated and destroyed. So thoroughly was the work done, in fact, that the Rostock New Testament was all but forgotten until some portions of it began to make their reappearance about a century ago. Until now we know of only one complete copy in existence, though there are also some three fairly complete copies and certain fragments extant—few remains, indeed, for a version which was undoubtedly intended to champion the Catholic cause in Mecklenburg!

And thus ends our brief tale of early Reformation Bibles in the crossfire. That crossfire had its beginning with a Catholic attack on the Lutheran version and its ending with a Lutheran attack on a Catholic version. But that ending was not, of course, the end at all; it merely represents the artificial stopping place we have chosen for our present brief survey. More Bibles continued to appear—both Lutheran and Catholic. More Bibles are still appearing today, as Scripture goes forth in over a thousand of earth's tongues. And wherever various translations appear in any given language, is there not still potentiality for controversy, though perhaps along somewhat different lines from those of the Reformation era? Witness, for example, the history of our own English Bible—even the recent history!

The Reformation of the sixteenth century has come and gone. With it has also come and gone that particular crossfire involving the early Lutheran and Emserian New Testaments. But may we not still, perhaps, as we look back to those early Reformation years and study carefully both sides of the controversy, learn something of value for today? May we not learn something concerning our own need for clearer, broader, and more charitable concepts as we press forward in our great quest for truth?

APPENDIX

APPENDIX

The following comparisons of parallel passages from the first edition of Emser's New Testament and Luther's "September Bible" will indicate Emser's dependence on Luther:

MATT. 4:23-25

E-1527

Vnd Jhesus gieng vmbher im gantzen Gallileischen lande / vnd leret in yhren schulen / vnd predigt das Euangelion von dem reych / machet gesunt vnd heylet allerley seuch vnd kranckheit im volck / vñ seyn gerucht erschall in das gantz Syrier land / Vnnd sie brachten yhm alle krancken / so mit mancherley seuchen vnnd quelungen behafft waren / vñ die so tewfel / bey yhnen hetten / vnd die monsuchtigen / vnd gichtbruchtigen / Vnd er macht sie alle gesund / Vnd es volget yhm nach vil volcks / von Gallilea / von den zehen Stetten / vō Jerusalem / vom Judischen land / vñ von yhensit des Jordanes

Luth-1522

Vnnd Jhesus gieng vmb her ym gantzen Gallileyschen land / leret ynn yhren schulen / vnnd prediget das Euangelion vō dem reych / vnnd heylet allerley seuche vnnd kranckeyt ym volck / vnnd seyn gerucht erschall yn das gantz Syrien land / vnnd sie brachten zu yhm alle kranckenn / mit mancherley seuchen vnnd quall behafft / die besessenen / die monsuchtigen vnd die gichtpruchtigen / vnnd er macht sie alle gesundt / vnd es folgete yhm nach viel volcks / von Gallilea / von den tzehen stedten / von Jherusalem / vom judischen land / vnnd von ihensytt des jordans.

MATT. 8:1-4

E-1527

Als er aber vom berg herab steige / volgte yhm vil volcks nach / vnnd sihe / ein aussetziger kam / fiel yhm zu fussen vnd sprach / herr / so du wilt / kanst du mich reynigen / Vnd Jhesus streckt aus seyn hand / rurt yhn an / vnnd sprach / ich wil / Sey gereyniget / Vnnd als bald ward er von seym ausssatz reyn / vnd Jhesus sprach zu yhm / sihe zu / das du

Luth-1522

Da er aber vom berge herab gieng / folgte yhm viel volcks nach / vnd sihe / eyn aussetziger kam / vnd bettet yhn an / vnd sprach / Herr so du willt / kanstu mich wol reynigen / vnnd Jhesus streckt seyne hand auss / rurt yhn an / vnnd sprach / ich wills thun / sey gereynigt / vnd als bald wart er von seym ausssatz reyn / vnnd Jhesus sprach zu yhm / sich zu / sags

E-1527

das nyemant sagest / Sonder
gehe hyn / vnd zeyge dich
dem priester / vnd opfer
die gabe / die Moses
beuolhen hat / yhnen
zu getzeugnis.

Luth-1522

niemant / sondernn ganng
hyn vnnd tzeyg dich dem
priester / vnnd opffere
die gabe / die Moses
befolhen hat / zu eynem
tzeugnis vber sie.

MARK 15:1-5

E-1527

Und bald am morgen /
hielten die hohen priester /
eynen radt mit den Eltisten
vnd schrifftgelerten / sampt
der gantzen samlung / vnd
bunden Jesum / vnd füreten
yhn hyn / vnd vberantwurten
yhn Pilato / vñ Pilatus
fraget yhn / Bistu eyn
könig der Juden? Er
antwurt vnnd sprach zu
yhm / Du sagsts / Vnd
die hohen priester
beschuldigeten yhne in vil
stücken / Pilatus aber fraget
yhn abermal vnd sprach /
Antwurstu nichts? Sihe /
wie hart sie dich
verklagen / Jhesus aber
antwurtet nichts mehr /
also / das sich auch
Pilatus verwundert.

Luth-1522

Unnd bald am morgen /
hielten die hohen priester
eynen rad mit den Elltisten

datzu der gantze rad / vnd
bunden Jhesum / vnd füreten
yhn hyn / vnd vbirantworten
yhn Pilato / vnnd Pilatus
fraget yhn / Bistu eyn
konig der Juden? Er
antwort aber vnd sprach zu
yhm / Du sagists / vnnd
die hohen priester
beschuldigetē yhn hartt /
Pilatus aber fraget yhn
aber mal vnd sprach /
Antwortistu nichts? Sihe /
wie hartt sie dich
verklagenn / Jhesus aber
antworttet nichts mehr /
also / das sich auch
Pilatus verwundert.

LUKE 2:1-14

E-1527

Es begab sich aber zu
der zeyt / das eyn gepott
aussgieng von dem keyser
Augusto / das alle werlt
beschribē wurde. Dis
ist die örste beschreybung
so geschehen ist vō
Cyrino dem landtpfleger
in Syria. Vnd
es gieng yederman sich

Luth-1522

Es begab sich aber zu
der zeytt / das eyn gepott
von dem keyser Augustus
aus gieng / das alle wellt
geschetzt wurde / vñ dise
schetzung war die aller
erste / vnd geschach zur
zeytt / da Kyrenios land-
pfleger yn Sirien war /
vnnd es gieng yderman das

E-1527

selber antzugeben /
eyn iglicher in seyne
Stadt. Da erhub sich
auch Joseph von Gallilea /
aus der stadt Nazaret /
vnnd steyg auff in das
Jüdisch land / zur stadt
Dauid / die da heyst
Bethlehem / darumb das er
von dem haws vnd geschlecht
Dauid war / auff das er
sich angebe / mit Maria
seynem vertraweten weybe /
die da schwanger gienge.
Nu begab es sich /
dieweyl sie daselbst
waren / kam die zeit das
sie geperen solte / vnd
sie gepar yren erstgebornen
Sone / vnd wickelt yn in
windel / vnd leget yn in
eyn krippen / denn sie
hatten sunst keynen rawm
in der herberg.
Vñ es waren hirten
in der selben gegend auff
dem feld / wachend vnd
hütteten des nachts /
yrer herde. Vnd sihe /
der Engel des herrn trat
zu yn / vnd die klarheit
des herrn leuchtet vmb
sie / vñ sie forchtē
sich seer. Vnd der Engel
sprach zu yn. Fürcht
euch nicht. Sehet / ich
verkündige euch grosse
frewde / die allem volck
widerfarē wirt / deñ
hewt ist euch geborn
der heyland / wölcher
ist Christus der herre /
in der stadt Dauid.
Vnd das habt euch zum
zeychen. Ir werdet
finden das kind in windel
gewickelt / vnd in eyner
krippen ligen. Vñ als
bald war da bey dem Engel /
die menige der hymlischen
heerscharen / die lobeten
Gott / vnd sprachen.

Luth-1522

er sich schetzen lies /
eyn iglicher yñ seyne
stadt. Da macht sich auff/
auch Joseph vō Gallilea /
aus der stadt Nazareth /
ynn das Judisch land /
zur stad Dauid / die
da heyst Bethlehem /
darumb dz er von dem
hausse vnd geschlecht
Dauid war / auff das er
sich schetzē liesse mit
Maria seynem vertraweten
weybe / die gieng schwanger.
Vnnd es begab sich /
ynn dem sie daselbst
waren / kam die zeyt das
sie geperen sollte / vnnd
sie gepar yhren ersten
son / vnnd wickelt yhn ynn
windel / vnd leget yhn ynn
eyn krippen / denn sie
hatten sonst keynen raum
ynn der herberge.
Vnnd es waren hirtten
ynn der selben gegend auff
dem feld / bey den hurtten /
vnnd hutteten des nachts /
yhrer herde / vnnd sihe /
der engel des herrnn trat
zu yhn / vñ die klarheyt
des herren leuchtet vmb
sie / vnnd sie furchten
sich seer / vnnd der Engel
sprach zu yhn / furcht
euch nicht / Sehet / ich
verkundige euch grosse
freude / die allem volck
widderfaren wirt / denn
euch ist heutte der
heyland geporn / wilcher
ist Christus der herre /
ynn der stadt Dauid /
vnnd das habt zum
zeychen / yhr werdet
finden das kind ynn windel
gewickellt / vñ ynn eyner
krippen ligen / Vnnd als
bald war da bey dem engel /
die menge der hymlischen
heerscharen / die lobeten
Gott / vñ sprachen /

E-1527

Ehr sey Gott in der
höhe / vnnd frid auff
erden / den menschen die
eyns gutten willens seyn.

Luth-1522

Preys sey Gott ynn der
hohe / vnd frid auff
erden / vñ den menschen
eyn wolgefallen.

LUKE 16:19-31

E-1527

Es was eyn reycher
man / der kleydet sich
mit purpur vñ köstlicher
leynwat / vnd lebet alle
tag wol / vnd scheinbar-
lich. Es war auch eyn
armer / mit namen Lazarus /
der lag vor seiner thür /
voller schweren / vnd
begeret sich zusettigen
von den brosamen / die von
des reychen tisch fielen /
vnd niemant gab yms /
Sonder die hund kamen
vnd leckten ym seyne
schweren. Nu begab sichs /
das der arme starb /
vñ ward getragen von den
Engeln in Abrahams
schos. Vnd der reyche
starb auch / vnd ward
begraben in die helle.
Als er nu in der quall
war / hub er seyne augen
auff / vñ sahe Abraham
von fernen / vñ Lazarum
in seiner schos / vnd er
rieff vñ sprach / Vatter
Abraham / erbarm dich
mein / vnd sende Lazarū /
das er das eusserst
seines fingers yns wasser
tauche / vnd küle mein
zungen / deñ ich leyd
grosse peyn in diser
flammē. Abraham aber
sprach. Gedenck son /
das du gutes empfangen
hast in deinem leben /
vñ Lazarus dargegen hat
böses empfangen. Nu aber
wirt er getröstet / vnd
du wirst gepeyniget / vñ
vber das alles ist

Luth-1522

Es war aber eyn reycher
man / der kleydet sich
mit purpur vnd kostlichem
lynwadt / vnd lebet alle
tage herlich wol /
Es war aber eyn armer /
mit namen Lazarus /
der lag fur seyner thur /
voller schwerē / vnnd
begeret sich zu settigen
von den brosamen / die von
des reychen tisch fielen /

Doch kamen die hund /
vnd leckten yhm seyne
schweren / Es begab sich
aber / das der arme starb /
vnd wart getragen von den
Engelen ynn Abrahams
schoss / der reyche aber
starb auch / vñ wart
ynn die helle begraben.
Als er nu ynn der quall
war / hub er seyne augen
auff / vñ sahe Abraham
von fernen vnnd Lazarum
ynn seynem schoss /
rieff vnd sprach / vater
Abraham / erbarme dich
meyn / vñ sende Lazarum /
das er das eusserst
seynes fingers yns wasser
tauche / vñ kule meyne
zungen / deñ ich leyde
grosse peyn ynn diser
flammen / Abraham aber
sprach / gedenck / son /
das du guttis empfangen
hast ynn deynem leben /
vñ Lazarus dagegen hatt
boses empfangen / Nu aber
wirt er getrostet / vnd
du wirst gepeyniget / vnd
vber das alles ist

E-1527

zwischē vns vnd euch eyn
grosse finstere klufft
befestiget / das die da
gern wolten vō hinnen
hynab steygen zu euch /
konden nit / vñ auch
nit vō dannen zu vns
hieher faren.
Da sprach er / so bitt
ich dich / vatter / das du
yn sendest in meines
vatters hawse / denn ich
hab noch funff brüder /
das er yn betzeuge / auff
das sie nicht auch komen
an disen ort der qual.
Abraham sprach zu ym.
Sie haben Mosen vnd die
propheten / lass sie die
selben hören. Er aber
sprach / Neyn / vatter
Abraham / Sonder / wenn
eyner von den todten zu yn
gieng / so wurdē sie buss
thun. Er aber sprach zu
ym So sie Mosen vnd
die propheten nicht hören /
so werden sie auch nit
glewben / ob yemand von
den todten auff stünde.

Luth-1522

zwisschen vns vnnd euch eyn
grosse klufft
befestiget / das die da
wollten von hynnen
hyn ab steygē zu euch /
kunden nit / vñ auch
nit vō dannen zu vns
her vberfarē.
Da sprach er / so bitt
ich dich / vater / das du
yhn sendest yñ meynes
vaters hausse / deñ ich
habe noch funff bruder /
das er yhn betzeuge / auff
das sie nicht auch komen
an disen ort der qual.
Abraham sprach zu yhm /
Sie haben Mosen vnd die
prophetē / las sie die
selbē horen / Er aber
sprach / Neyn / vater
Abraham / sondern / wenn
eyner vō den todten zu yhn
gienge / so wurdē sie busse
thun. Er aber sprach zu
yhm / Horen sie Mosen vnnd
die propheten nicht /
so werden sie auch nicht
glewben / ob yemand von
den todten auff stunde.

JOHN 2:1-10

E-1527

Und am dritten tag
ward eyn hochtzeit zu
Cana inn Gallilea / vñ
die mutter Jesu war da.
Jesus aber vnd seine
jünger warden auch auff
die hochtzeit geladen /
vnnd do es anweyn
geprach / sprach die
mutter Jesu zu ym / Sie
haben nit weyn. Jesus
sagt zu yhr. Weyb /
was hab ich mit dir?
mein stund ist

Luth-1522

Unnd am dritten tage
ward eyne hochtzeyt zu
Cana ynn Galilea / vnd
die mutter Jhesu war da /
Jhesus aber vnnd seyne
junger warden auch auff
die hochtzeyt geladen /
vñ da es an weyn
geprach / spricht die
mutter Jhesu zu yhm / sie
haben keyn weyn / Jhesus
spricht zu yhr / Weyb /
was habe ich mitt dyr zu
schaffen? meyne stund ist

E-1527

noch nit komen. Do sprach seyn mutter zu den dienern / was er euch saget / das thut. Es waren aber alda sechs steynern wasserkrüge / gesetzt nach der weys der Jüdischen reynigung / deren itzlicher fassete zwu odder drey mass.

Jesus sprach zu yn / Füllet die krüge mit wasser. Vnd sie fülleten sie bis oben an. Vnd er sprach zu ynen. Schepffet nu vnd bringets dem Speyssmeister / vñ sie brachtens. Als aber der Speyssmeister kostet den weyn / der wasser gewesen war / vnnd wuste nicht von wannen er kam / die diener aber wustens / die das wasser geschepfft hatten / rufft der Speyssmeister dem Brewtigam vnd sprach zu ym. Yederman gibt zum örsten den gutten weyn / vnd wenn sie truncken wordē sindt / alssdenn / den geringsten. Du aber hast den gutten weyn behalten bis hieher.

Luth-1522

noch nit komē / Seyne mutter spricht zu den dienern / was er euch saget / das thutt / Es warē aber alda sechs steynern wasser kruge / gesetzt nach der weys der Judisschen reynigung / vnd gieng ynn yhe eynen / zwey odder drey masss.

Jhesus spricht zu yhn / fullet die wasser kruge mit wasser / vñ sie fulleten sie bis oben an / vñ er spricht zu yhnen / schepfet nu vnd bringets dem speyssemeyster / vnnd sie brachtens / Als aber der speysemeyster kostet den weyn / der wasser gewesen war / vnd wuste nicht von wannen er kam / die diener aber wustens / die dz wasser geschepfft hattē / ruffet der speysemeyster dem breuttigam vñ spricht zu yhm / yderman gibt zum ersten den gutten weyn / vñ wenn sie truncken worden sind / als denn / den geringern / Du hast den gutten weyn bis her behalten.

ACTS 11:19-30

E-1527

Die aber so zurstrewet waren vnder der trübsal / so bey Stephano geschach / giengen vmbher / bis gen Phenicen vnd Cypern vnd Antiochien / vnd redeten das wort zu niemant / denn aleyn zu den Juden Es waren aber etzlich vnder ynen /

Luth-1522

Die aber zurstrewet waren vnter dem trubsall / der vbir Stephano geschach / giengen vmb her / bis gen Phenicen vnd Cypern vnnd Antiochien / vnnd redeten das wort zu niemant / denn alleyne zu den Juden / Es waren aber ettlich vnter yhn /

E-1527

menner von Cypern vñ
Cyrenen / die kamen gen
Antiochien / vnd redeten
auch zu den Kriechen /
vnnd predigeten den herrn
Jesum / vnd die hand
Gottes war mit yn / vnd
eyn grosse zcal ward
glewbig vnd bekeret sich
zu dem herren.

Es kam aber dise rede
von yhn für die oren der
samlung sso zu Jerusalem
was / vnnd sie sandten
Barnabam / das er hyn
gienge bis gen Antiochien /
wölcher / da er hyn komen
war / vnd sahe die gnade
Gottes / ward er fro /
vnd ermanet sie alle /
das sie nach dem fürsatz
yhres hertzen bey dem
herren bleyben wolten /
denn er war eyn fromer
man / vol heyliges geysts
vnd glaubens / vñ es war
eyn gros volck dem Herrn
zu than / Barnabas aber
gieng aus gen Tarsen zu
suchen Saulum / vnd da
er yhn fand / füret er
yhn gen Antiochien /
vnd sie woneten eyn
gantz iar doselbest / in
der samlung der gleubigē
vnd lereten eyn gros
volck / also das die
Junger zu Antiochia am
örsten / Christen genennet
wurden.

Inn den selben tagen
kamen Propheten von
Jerusalem gen Antiochien /
vnd eyner vnder yhn / mit
namen Agabus / stund auff /
vnnd zeiget an durch den
geyst eyn grosse theurung /
die dą komē solt vber den
gantzen kreys der erden /
wölche geschach vnder dem

Luth-1522

menner von Cypern vnnd
Cyrenen / die kamen gen
Antiochien / vnd redeten
auch zu den Kriechen /
vnd predigeten das
Euangelion von Jhesu
Christo / vnd die hand
Gottis war mit yhn / vnd
eyn grosse zal ward
glewbig vnd bekeret sich
zu dem hern.

Es kam aber dise rede
von yhn fur die oren der
gemeyn zu Jerusalem /
vnnd sie sandten
Barnabam / das er hyn
gienge bis gen Antiochien /
wilcher / da er hyn komē
war / vñ sahe die gnade
Gottis / wart er fro /
vnd ermanet sie alle /
das sie von hertzē
fursetzten an dem
herren zu bleyben /
denn er war eyn frumer
man / voll heyliges geysts
vnnd glawbens / vnnd es wart
eyn grosss volck dem hern
zu than / Barnabas aber
gieng aus gen Tarsen / Saulum
widder zu suchen / vnd da
er yhn fand / furet er
yhn gen Antiochien /
Es geschach aber / das sie
eyn gantz iar yñ der
gemeyne sich samleten
vñ lereten eyne gros
volck / vñ das die
junger zu Antiochia am
ersten / Christen genennet
wurdē.

Inn den selbigen tagen
kamen propheten von
Jerusalem gen Antiochien /
vñ eyner vnter yhn mit
namen Agabus stund auff /
vnd deutet durch den
geyst eyn grosse theurung /
die da komen sollt vbir den
gantzen kreys der erden /
wilche geschach vnter dem

E-1527	Luth-1522
Keyser Claudio / Die Jünger aber beschlossen eyn itzlicher / nach dem er vermocht / zu senden eyn handreychung den brüdern die in Judea woneten / wie sie denn auch thetten / vnd schicktens zu den Eltisten durch die hand Barnabe vnd Sauli.	keyser Claudio / Aber vnter den jungern beschlos ein iglicher / nach dem er vermocht / zu senden eyn handreychung den brudern die yñ Judea woneten / wie sie denn auch thetten / vnd schicktens zu den Elltisten durch die hand Barnabe vnd Sauli.

The foregoing comparisons indicate the close relationship between the Emserian and Lutheran texts. A relationship as close as this seems evident throughout, with some exceptions which are not considerable in comparison with the overall picture. Thus there appears to be no reason for doubting the generally accepted view that Emser used Luther's text, making only slight revisions to it. These revisions, as noted in our main text, seem to have been based on the Vulgate and on Catholic interpretation of Scripture.

One section of the biblical text wherein Emser has departed more noticeably from Luther's version is the Sermon on the Mount. We present below a few excerpts in illustration. It will be observed, however, that except for the Beatitudes, the first selection given, there are enough similarities between the Emserian and Lutheran versions even in these excerpts to make obvious Emser's dependence on Luther.

MATT. 5:1-12

E-1527	Luth-1522
Da nu Jhesus sahe die scharen / steyg er auff ein berg / vnd als er sich het nidergesetzt / tratten zu yhm seyne Junger Vnd er thet auff seynen mund / lehret sie / vnnd sprach. Selig sint / die da arm seyn im geist / dann yhr ist das hymelreych. Selig sint die senfftmütigen / dann sie werden besitzen das erdtreych. Selig sint die da heulen vnd clagen / dañ sie getroest werden / Selig sint / die do hungert vnd	Da er aber das volck sahe / steyg er auff eynen berg / vñ satzet sich / vnnd seyne Junger tratt en zu yhm / vnnd er thatt seynen mund auff / leret sie / vñ sprach / Selig sind / die da geystlich arm sind / deñ das hymelreych ist yhr / Selig sind / die da leyde tragē / deñ die sollen getrostet werden / Selig sind die senfftmutigen / denn sie werden das erdreych besitzen / Selig sind die da hungert vnnd

E-1527

durstet nach der gerecht-
ikeit / dañ sie gesettiget
werden. Selig sint
die barmhertzigē / dañ
sie barmhertzikeit befinden
werdē / Selig sint / die
do seyn eins reynen
hertzen / dann sie gott
schawen werden / Selig sint
die fridsamen / dann sie
gottes kinder geheissen
werden / Selig sint die do
veruolgung leyden / vmb
der gerechtikeit willen /
dañ yhr ist das reych der
hymele / Selig seyet yhr /
so euch die menschen
schelten / vnd veruolgen /
vnd alles arge von euch
sagen werden /
liegende / vmb nieynet wegen /
Frewet euch vnd frolocket /
dañ ewer belonung ist seer
gros in den hymeln /
Dann also haben sie auch
veruolget die Propheten /
so vor euch gewest
seyn.

Luth-1522

durstet nach der gerecht-
ickeyt / denn sie sollen
satt werden / Selig sind
die barmhertzigē / deñ
sie werdē barmhertzickeyt
erlangē / Selig sind die
vō hertzen reyn sind /
denn sie werden got
schawen / Selig sind die
fridfertigen / deñ sie
werden gottes kynder
heyssen / Selig sind /
die vmb gerechtickeyt
willen verfolget werden /
deñ das hymel reych ist
yhr / Selig seyd yhr /
wenn euch die menschenn
schmehen vnd verfolgen /
vnd reden allerley arges
widder euch so sie daran
liegē vmb meynen willen.
Habt freud vnnd wonne /
Es wirt euch ym hymell
woll belonet werden /
denn also haben sie
verfolgt die propheten /
die fur euch gewesen
sind.

MATT. 5:17-20

E-1527

Gedenckt nit / das ich
kommen sey auffzulösen
das gesetz oder die
Propheten. Ich bin
nicht kommen auffzulösen /
sonder zuerfullen. Ja
fur war sag ich euch /
bis das hymel vnd erd
zergehen / wirt nit zer-
gehen / der kleyneste
buchstab noch ein tittle
vom gesetz / bis das es
alles geschehe.
Wer nu eins von disen
kleynisten gebotten
bricht / vnnd lehret die

Luth-1522

Yhr sollt nit wehnen /
das ich komen byn das
gesetz odder die propheten
auff zu losen / ich byn
nit komen auff zulosen /
sondernn zu erfullen / denn
ich sage euch warlich /
bis das hymel vñ erden
zurgehe / wirt nit zur
gehen / der kleynist
buchstab / noch eyn tittle
vom gesetz / bis das es
alles geschehe.
Wer nu eyns von dissen
kleynisten gepotten auff
losset / vnnd leret die

E-1527

leut also / der wirt
der kleynist geheissen im
hymelreich. Der es
aber thut / vnd lehret /
der wirt gross geheyssen
im hymelreych.
Ich sag euch aber / Wann
es seye deñ das ewer gerecht-
ikeit volkommer werde / dann
der schriffter vnnd
Phariseer / so werdet
yhr nit eyngehen in das
reych der hymel.

Luth-1522

leutt also / der wirtt
der kleynist heyssen ym
hymel reych / Wer es
aber thut vnnd leret /
der wurtt gross heyssen
ym hymel reych.
Denn ich sage euch /
Es sey denn ewr gerecht-
ickeyt besser / denn der
schrifftgelerten vnnd
phariseer / so werdet
yhr nit yn das hymel
reych komen.

MATT. 6:1-4

E-1527

Sehet euch für / das
yhr ewer gerechtickeit
nicht thuet vor den
menschen / auff das yhr von
yhnen gesehen / Sust werdet
yhr kein lohn haben
bey ewerm water der im
hymel ist. Drumb so du
almosen gibst / solt du
nicht lassen für dir
posaunen / wie die heuchler
thun in yhren schulen vnd
auff den gassen / auff das
sie von den lewten
gepreysset werden /
warlich / sag ich euch /
sie haben yhren lohn schon
eyngenomen Du aber wen du
almosen gibst / so las
deine lincke hand nicht
wissen / was die rechte
thut / auff das dein
almosen verborgen sey / Vnd
deyn vatter / der inn das
verporgen sihet / wirt
dirs vergelten.

Luth-1522

Habt acht auff ewr
almossen / das yhr die
nitt gebet / fur den
leutten / das yhr vonn
yhn gesehen werdet / yhr
habt anders keynen lohn
bey ewrm vatter ym
hymel / wenn du nu
almosen gibst / solltu
nitt lassen fur dyr
posaunen / wie die heuchler
thun yn yhren schulen vñ
auff den gassen / auff dz
sie von den leutē
gepreysset werden /
warlich / ich sage euch /
sie haben yhrn lohn
dahyn. Wenn du aber
almosen gibst / so lass
deyne lincke hand nitt
wissen / was die rechte
thut / auff das deyn
almosen verporge sey / vñ
deyn vatter / der ynn das
verborgen sihet / wirt
dyrs vergelten offentlich.

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Errata

P. 115: Pentateuch, 42 should read Pentateuch, 41

P. 116: Rose, Henning, 22 should read Rose, Henning, 25

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